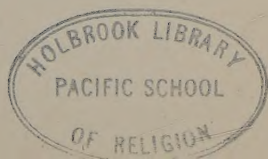


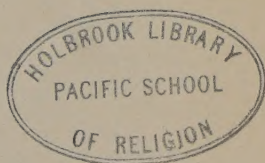
A GRAMMAR OF
MISHNAIC HEBREW



Published under the auspices of the
Jewish Institute of Religion, New
York, with a subvention from the
Alexander Kohut Memorial Foundation.

A GRAMMAR OF MISHNAIC HEBREW

BY
M. H. SEGAL, M.A.



OXFORD
AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

1927

56272

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BJ83.5

S48

Se37

1927

DEDICATED TO THE CHIEF RABBI OF
THE BRITISH EMPIRE (DR. J. H. HERTZ)
IN APPRECIATION OF HIS SERVICES TO THE
CAUSE OF THE REVIVAL OF HEBREW LEARNING

PREFACE

THIS little book has been written with a twofold object: first, to provide students of early Rabbinic literature with a fairly complete grammar of the dialect of that literature; and, secondly, to demonstrate the organic connexion of this Mishnaic dialect with Biblical Hebrew, and its relative independence of contemporary Aramaic, at least in the field of grammar. A good deal of material belonging to comparative grammar has, therefore, been introduced, and constant reference is made to the standard authority in the English language on the grammar of Biblical Hebrew, viz. Dr. Cowley's edition of *Gesenius-Kautzsch's Hebrew Grammar*. As that work is most familiar to English readers, I have followed it, as far as possible, in the arrangement and terminology of the present work.

The examples illustrating grammatical rules have been drawn mainly from the Mishna and, to a smaller extent, from the *Baraitot* and other Hebrew elements of the Babylonian Talmud, because these works are the most accessible to ordinary students. Other less accessible works, like the Tosefta, the Jerusalem Talmud, and the *Midrashim*, have been drawn upon only occasionally. The English renderings of the examples have been made as

literal as possible, in order to exhibit clearly the construction and phraseology of the original.

As is well known, the text of Rabbinic works is in a neglected condition, and readings are often uncertain. In citations from the Mishna I have taken care to give only examples of which the reading is established as fairly correct by agreement between the Palestinian text of Lowe and the Babylonian texts of the current editions of the Mishna, and of the Mishna embodied in the Babylonian Talmud. I have refrained from troubling the reader with variant readings which serve no grammatical purpose. Occasionally, however, differences of reading have been indicated where they have a bearing on the grammar of the dialect.

It has not been found practicable to accompany the work with a general index. In order to facilitate reference to its contents, the Table of Contents has been made as detailed as necessary.

I desire to acknowledge my indebtedness to Professor Albrecht's excellent little book, *Neuhebräische Grammatik*, which has furnished me with numerous examples, and has thus lightened my labours in the preparation of this work.

I have also to record with gratitude the interest taken in the publication of this work by that good friend of all English students of Rabbinics, the late Dr. Israel Abrahams, ישראל אברהם. To Dr. Abrahams I owe the grant of a generous subvention towards the cost of publication from the Alexander Kohut Memorial Fund. My thanks for this grant are also due to the director of the Fund, Dr. George A. Kohut, of New York.

. My friends Mr. Herbert Loewe, of Exeter College, Oxford, and Canon Danby, of Jerusalem, have read the proofs, and have otherwise helped me with corrections and suggestions. If the work be found free from typographical errors, it will be due chiefly to their help combined with the skill and vigilance of the readers of the Clarendon Press.

M. H. SEGAL.

THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY,
JERUSALEM.

September, 1926.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Tractates of the Mishna, Tosefta, and the Talmuds:—

Ab.	אָבוֹת (iv)	Makš.	מַכְשִׁירִין (vi)
'Ar.	עֲרָכִין (v)	Mid.	מִדּוֹת (v)
'AZ.	עֲבוּדָה זָרָה (iv)	Miq.	מִקְוֹאוֹת (vi)
Be.	בֵּיעָה (ii)	Meg.	מְגִלָּה (ii)
Bik.	בִּיבּוּרִים (i)	Me'il.	מַעֲיֵלָה (v)
Bek.	בְּכוֹרוֹת (v)	Men.	מְנַחוֹת (v)
Ber.	בִּרְכוֹת (i)	MQ.	מוֹעֵד קָטָן (ii)
BB.	בָּבָא בִּתְרָא (iv)	MŠ.	מַעֲשֵׂר שְׁנִי (i)
BM.	בָּבָא מְצִיעָא (iv)	Naz.	נָזִיר (iii)
BQ.	בָּבָא מְקָא (iv)	Nid.	נִדָּה (vi)
Da.	דְּמַאי (i)	Ned.	נִדְרִים (iii)
'Ed.	עֲדוּת (iv)	Oh.	אֶהְלוֹת (vi)
'Er.	עֲרוּבִין (ii)	'Or.	עֲרֵלָה (i)
Git.	גִּיטִין (iii)	Pa.	פָּה (vi)
Ho.	הוֹרֵיֹת (iv)	Pe.	פִּיּאָה (i)
Hag.	חֲגִיגָה (ii)	Pes.	פֶּסַחִים (ii)
Hal.	חֻלָּה (i)	Qid.	קִידוּשִׁין (iii)
Hul.	חוּלִין (v)	Qin.	קָנִים (v)
Kel.	כֵּלִים (vi)	RH.	רֵאשׁ הַשָּׁנָה (ii)
Kil.	כִּלְאִים (i)	San.	סִנְהֶדְרִין (iv)
Ker.	כְּרִיתוֹת (v)	So.	סוֹטָה (iii)
Ket.	כְּתִיבוֹת (iii)	Suk.	סוּכָה (ii)
Ma'a.	מַעֲשְׂרוֹת (i)	Šab.	שַׁבָּת (ii)
Mak.	מִכּוֹת (v)	Šebi.	שְׁבִיעִית (i)

Šebu.	שְׁבוּעוֹת (iv)	TY.	טָבוֹל יוֹם (vi)
Šeq.	שְׁקָלִים (ii)	Uq.	עֵינָאֵין (vi)
Ta'a.	תַּעֲנִית (ii)	Ya.	יָדַיִם (vi)
Tam.	תָּמִיד (v)	Yo.	יוֹמָא (ii)
Tem.	תְּמוּדָה (v)	Yeb.	יִבְמוֹת (iii)
Ter.	תְּרוּמוֹת (i)	Zab.	זָבִים (vi)
Toh.	טְהוֹרֹת (vi)	Zeb.	זִבְחִים (v)

NOTE.—The figures after the tractates indicate the Order (סֵדֶר), or part of the Mishna, in which these tractates are found.

In citations from the Mishna, Tosefta, and the Jerusalem Talmud roman numerals indicate the chapter and arabic numerals the section or הִלְכָּה, thus: Ber. iii. 5. Citations from the Tosefta are marked by *t.* before the name of the tractate. Citations from the Jerusalem Talmud are marked by *j.* before the name of the tractate. In citations from the Babylonian Talmud, the folio is indicated by arabic numerals and the page or column by *a*, *b* thus: San. 75 b.

L. The Mishnah on which the Palestinian Talmud rests, ed. by W. H. Lowe, Cambridge, 1883.

Ab. d°RN. אֲבוֹת דִּרְבֵּי נָתָן

Gen. R. בְּרֵאשִׁית רַבָּה

Ex. R. שְׁמוֹת רַבָּה

Lev. R. וִיקְרָא רַבָּה

Num. R. בְּמִדְבָּר רַבָּה

Lam. R. אֵיכָה רַבָּתִי

Qoh. R. קֹהֶלֶת רַבָּה

M°kil. מְכִילָתָא

Singer *The Authorised Daily Prayer Book*, ed. Singer.

BDB. *Hebrew and English Lexicon of the O. T.*, ed.

Brown, Driver, and Briggs, Oxford, 1906.

Ges.-K.	Gesenius-Kautzsch's <i>Hebrew Grammar</i> , ed. A. E. Cowley, Oxford.
<i>JQR.</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review.</i>
MGWJ.	<i>Monatschrift für die Geschichte u. Wissenschaft d. Judentums.</i>
<i>ZAW.</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.</i>
<i>ZDMG.</i>	<i>Zeitschrift d. deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.</i>
Aram.	Aramaic.
BH	Biblical Hebrew.
MH	Mishnaic Hebrew.
Gr.	Greek.
Lat.	Latin.

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ADDENDA

- Sect. 2, note 2. So *Midrash Tehillim* (ed. Buber), ix. 3 : שְׁנוּ חֲכָמִים בְּלִשׁוֹן הַמִּשְׁנָה. The term is also frequent among medieval writers, e. g. Rashi on Gen. xl. 11. Menaḥem b. Saruq uses לִשׁוֹן מִשְׁנָה in contrast to לִשׁוֹן עִבְרִית, i. e. BH, cf. מחברת (ed. Filipowsky), p. 9. Abraham de Balmis uses it in contrast to לִשׁוֹן מִקְרָא, cf. מקנה אברהם, ch. iv, Sect. פֻּעֵלֶת.
- Sect. 25, p. 18. Qid. iv. 1 is cited in Hebrew in Y^eb. 85 a; cf. Grätz, *Geschichte*⁴, iii. 711. That the *Ketuba* was originally in Hebrew is shown by its Hebrew name (for the form cf. § 229 below, and Stade, *Heb. Gram.*, § 204 b. The Aram. כתובתא is a Hebraism). Cf. also its Gr. equivalent συγγραφή, Tobit vii. 14, and Grätz, *ibid.* 706.
- Sect. 63. Krauss's suggestion (*ZDMG.*, 1919, 732) that בְּרָבִי should be pointed בִּיר + רָבִי, בִּרְבִּי is improbable. It would have been spelt *plene*, בִּירְבִּי.
- Sect. 126. Another example of Pu'al is found in P^esiqta R. ix. (ed. Friedmann, p. 33 a): נִוְצָחָתִי, to prevail.
- Sect. 134. A quadriliteral form of Nithpa'el is found in מִתְנַוְנָה, fem. מִתְנַוְנָה to fail, decay, BQ 91 a; So. iii. 5; H^ul. 57 b; also יִתְעַלְפָּה to swoon, Šab. 9 b; H^ul. 3 b. Cf. Kohut, vi. 209, and Ibn Ganah, *Riqma*, 81, who explains it as an intensive.
- Sect. 149. סִרְגַּל. Cf., however, Perles, *Festschrift für A. Schwarz*, 303, and Krauss, *ibid.*, 575.
- Sect. 150. שְׁלַח. Cf., however, Barth, *Etymologische Studien*, 49.
- Sect. 168. יִתְוֹתֵרוּ. Cf. Ginzberg, *Festschrift für A. Schwarz*, 348.

- Sect. 402. שָׁמִין. Cf. in a medieval text: $\frac{1}{8}$ of a gold dinar, Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and Palestine*, ii. 188. The editor's correction is unnecessary.
- Sect. 431. Cf. Frankel, *מבוא הירושלמי*, 10 a.
- Sect. 435. Cf. Be. 3 b; Zeb. 72 a, where a distinction is drawn between *אֶת שְׁדָרְפוֹ לִימָנוֹת* and *כָּל שְׁדָרְפוֹ לִימָנוֹת* 'Or. iii. 6, the first being definite and the second indefinite.
- Sect. 437. כָּלוּם. Cf. also Schulthess, *Gram. d. christ.-paläst. Aram.*, § 65, 2. אַחַד also serves to express an indefinite subject: *אֶחָד אִ"ל שְׁאִינוּ נֶאֱמָן עַל הַמַּעֲשִׂוֹת* some one, who was not to be trusted about tithes, said to him, Dam. iv. 1. 6; Ta'a. ii. 5; *מַעֲשֶׂה בְּאֶחָד* it happened of some one, Yeb. xvi. 4; *אֶחָד עָמַד* some one arose, Ket. xiii. 2.
- Sect. 449. On *דַּרְכֵי הַמִּשְׁנָה* (Warsaw, 1923), 273.
- Sect. 502. On *אֶחָד . . . וְאֶחָד*. So also with plur. nouns in the masc.: *אֶחָד בָּלִים גְּדוֹלִים וְאֶחָד בָּלִים קְטָנִים* whether large vessels or small vessels, Miq. iv. 1; fem.: *אֶחָד בְּתוּלוֹת וְאֶחָד בְּעִיּוֹלוֹת* whether virgins or married women, divorced women or widows, Yeb. iv. 10; *אֶחָד תְּקִירוֹת וְאֶחָד בְּדִיקוֹת* whether cross-examinations as to circumstances or as to time and place, San. v. 2; sometimes, however, *אֶחָד* is found with the fem.: *אֶחָת גְּדוֹלָה וְאֶחָת קְטָנָה* Suk. i. 11. *בֵּין . . . בֵּין* is also found before nominal forms, but without *שֶׁ*: *בֵּין לַחִים בֵּין* whether moist or dry, Šab. iv. 1.
- Sect. 503. *אֲבָל* may also introduce a co-ordinated noun clause: *נוֹטְלִים אֲבָל לֹא מַחְזִירִים חֻמִּים אֲבָל לֹא תִבְשִׁיל* hot but not cooked; *אֲבָל לֹא (וְלֹא)* one may remove but not put back, Šab. iii. 1.
- Sect. 504. So *אֶלָּא שְׁבַמְרִינָה* but in the province, &c., in contrast to the Temple, Tam. vii. 2. Cf. also Ginzberg, *Journal of Jewish Lore*, 1919, 279.

INTRODUCTION

1. THE Hebrew language has been used for the expression of human thought, whether in speech alone, or in writing alone, or in both speech and writing, for some 3000 years. Its history may be roughly divided into four periods: (1) Biblical Hebrew (BH), from the earliest times to the end of the Biblical period, say about 200 B.C.E.; (2) Mišnaic Hebrew (MH), from about 400–300 B.C.E.¹ to about 400 C.E.; (3) Medieval Hebrew, from the redaction of the Babylonian Talmud, about 500 C.E., to 1700; (4) and Modern Hebrew, from the beginning of the eighteenth century to this day. The revival of Jewish life in Palestine through Zionism has brought with it a new efflorescence of Hebrew both as a literary medium and as a spoken tongue.

2. The present work is devoted to a study of the grammatical characteristics of the Hebrew language of the second period. We designate the Hebrew of that period 'Mišnaic Hebrew'² from the Mishna and its allied literature which form the sole literary remains that have come down to us in that particular idiom.

The name Mišnaic Hebrew is to be preferred to the name 'New Hebrew', by which the idiom is commonly known; for it serves to mark off this idiom both from the Hebrew of the first period, and also from the Hebrew of the third and fourth periods.

¹ The first period overlaps the second period, as BH continued to be used as a literary idiom long after the rise of MH. Cf. § 17.

² לְשׁוֹן הַמִּשְׁנָה, as in the late superscription to Ab, vi, 1. Cf. also Num. R. 1.

Either the Holy tongue, or the Greek tongue, So. 49 b; BQ 83 a; —אמר רב יוסף בבבל לשון ארמי למה או לשון הקדש או לשון פרסי: R. Joseph (c. 350 c.E.) said: In Babylon, why the Aramean tongue? Either the Holy tongue, or the Persian tongue, ib., where again MH must be meant, the language used by the speakers themselves.

Thus, also, BH is called עברית, as opposed to תרגום, the Aramaic portions of Daniel and Ezra, Ya. iv. 5 (תרגום שכתבו) לשון, (עברית ועברית שכתבו תרגום לשון רומי); or as contrasted with עילמית, Elamite, and גיפמית, Egyptian, Šab. 115 a; Meg. 18 a; but so is MH called עברית, as contrasted with יונית, Git. ix. 8; and עברי, j. Meg. i. 11.

A distinction between BH and MH is found only in later times, when MH had ceased to be used outside the learned circles in the schools. Thus, R. Johanan (c. 275 c.E.) objects to the use in a *halaka* of the expression מִסְכּוֹ, which he calls תורה, and insists on the use of מְנוֹנִי, which he describes as לשון חכמים, רחלות (לשון חכמים), in the Mishna, Hul. xi. 1, instead of רחלים (לשון תורה), Hul. 137 b.¹

4. The literary monuments of MH consist of the record of the teaching and sayings of the *Tannaim* and *Amoraim*,² as preserved in early rabbinic literature. These may be classified as follows:

(i) Tannaitic, in the following works which are exclusively in MH: Mishna, Tosefta,³ Abot deR. Nathan, Masiktot Qeṭannot,

¹ So in Aram.: לִישָׁנָא דְאֻרִייתָא, contrasted with לִישָׁנָא דְרַבְּנָן, Qid. 2 b.

² תַּנָּאִים, a Hebraized Aram. form of the MH שוֹנִים, repeaters (of the traditional law)—the Teachers of the Mišnaic period, as contrasted with אֲמוּרָאִים, expositors (of the Mishna)—the Teachers of the post-Mišnaic, or Talmudic period.

³ The Mishna is found in two chief recensions, (i) a Palestinian text, as given in the Jerusalem Talmud, and in the text edited by Lowe (L.). To this recension belongs also the text found in codex Kauffmann (K); see Krauss,

Meḳilta, *Sifra*, *Sifre*, *Seder 'Olam*, and the *Baraitot*,¹ scattered over the Palestinian and Babylonian Talmuds. We must also include in this class the sayings of the Tannaim, as reported by the Amoraim in the two Talmuds and in the Aggadic Midrashim. In these works, though they are partly composed in Aram., the Tannaim are, as a rule, made to speak in MH, even in ordinary conversations, and with women and children: cf. for example, 'Er. 53 b (ר' יוסי הגלילי, ר' יהושע בן חנניא), Ned. 62 a, 66 b.

(ii) Amoraic. The teaching and sayings of the Amoraim, as recorded in the two Talmuds and in the Aggadic Midrashim.

The earlier Amoraim, especially in Palestine, used MH very frequently, though they are often found to speak in Aram. But even the later Amoraim, and even in Babylon, used MH exclusively for the following purposes: statements of the formulated *halaka*²; homiletical expositions of the Scriptures³; parables (משל),

MGWJ., li, pp. 54 ff. (ii) a Babylonian text, as given in the Babylonian Talmud of the Mishna. With this the text found in current editions usually, but not always, agrees; cf. Frankel, *דרכי המשנה* (2nd ed., Warsaw, 1923), pp. 231 ff. Similarly the text of the Tosefta is found in a Palestinian recension, as represented by the edition of Zuckermann (Passewalk, 1877-82), and a Babylonian text found in the current editions printed with the Alfasi. On these and other works named, cf. the respective articles in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*; Schechter, Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Extra Volume, pp. 57 ff.; Strack, *Einleitung in d. Talmud*.

¹ *בריתא*, Aram. for MH *היצונה* (משנה), the external Mishna, viz. the *halakot* not included by Rabbi in his standard Mishna.

² Even in popular addresses. Cf. the confusion by a popular audience in Babylon of the phrase, used by R. Matna (fourth cent. C.E.) in an address, מים שֶׁלָנוּ 'water kept over night' and 'our water', P's. 42 a. This confusion could only have arisen in MH, and not in Aram., which would have used different words for these two ideas, viz. דְּבִיתִי and דִּילָנָא; cf. Rashi, *ad loc.*, and also Wijkoop, *JQR.*, vol. xv (1903), p. 29. Further the confusion by a popular audience in Palestine in the time of Rabbi of מִי בִּיצִים and מִי בִּצְעִים (= בְּצוֹת = בְּצִים), San. 5 b. Contrast, however, the different account in j. Š'bi. vi, 1; Git. i, 2.

³ The evidence can be found on almost every page of both Talmuds, and

even in the middle of an Aram. conversation (cf. e.g. BQ 60b; Ta'a. 5b); and prayer (cf. B^{er}. 17 a, 55 b, 60 a, b; K^{et}. 8 b). The frame-work of the Talmuds is in Aram. So also the discussions about the *Halaka*, and the ordinary conversations of the Amoraim are in Aram. Tales and traditions about the Tannaim and past ages in general, are usually in MH, sometimes interspersed with later Aram. additions (cf. e.g. B^{er}. 27 b; BM 59 b, &c.).

5. The differences between BH and MH are obvious and striking. They extend to grammar, vocabulary, and general style of expression. Some grammatical forms which are common in BH either have become rare, or have disappeared altogether in MH. Again, certain forms which are rare in BH have become the normal type in MH. Then as to vocabulary, we meet in MH large numbers of words which are rare or unknown in BH, but are common in Aram. Again, many words that are common in BH are absent in MH. Many BH words are used in MH in a changed connotation, usually as in Aram. Moreover, MH contains a large number of technical words and phrases which are unknown in BH. It has also borrowed a large number of names of objects from the Greek and Latin, which further help to detract from its Hebraic character. Finally, the diction of MH is quite unlike the ordinary BH style. Many familiar BH constructions are entirely absent in MH, whilst new constructions and usages have arisen in MH which are often similar to those known in Aram. or identical with them.

6. The similarities between MH and Aram., combined with the fact that MH has come down to us in works produced by the schools of the learned at a time when Aram. was used as a common vernacular among the Jews, have led many scholars to

also in the earlier Aggadic Midrashim. Cf., for example, the use of MH and Aram. in *halaka* in the first pages of BM, and in *Aggada* in the first pages of B^{er}.

the view that MH was merely a Hebraized Aram., artificially created by the Schoolmen, like the Latin of the Middle Ages, and that it never had an independent existence as a natural medium of ordinary speech in the daily life of the Jews. This view rests, however, on a misconception of the whole character of MH. Far from being an artificial scholastic jargon, MH is essentially a popular and colloquial dialect. Its extensive literature does not consist of books composed by literary men in their study. It is rather a record of sayings, oral teaching, and discussions of men of the people on a variety of subjects, embracing, practically, all the manifold activities in the daily life of an organized civilized society. Its vocabulary and its grammar both bear the stamp of colloquial usage and popular development. Apart from the technical phraseology of the specialized *halaka*, not a single trace can be discovered in it of that artificiality with which it has been credited.

7. As to the alleged dependence of MH on Aram., a careful examination of the grammar and vocabulary of MH as presented in the following pages will show that, while Aram. has undoubtedly influenced MH in many directions, it would be an exaggeration to describe this influence as a dependence of MH on Aram. In its morphology, MH is absolutely independent of Aram., and largely also in its syntax. In its main characteristics, the grammar of MH is practically identical with the grammar of BH. Where it differs from BH grammar, the genesis of the difference can generally be traced back to an older stage in the language, out of which the new forms developed in a natural way. Forms that deviate from the regular type of BH are usually found in BH in isolated cases as grammatical irregularities. It is nearly always possible to trace the connexion of a MH form with a BH prototype, at least in later BH literature. If such forms in MH and late BH happen also to be found in Aram., they are usually also found in other Semitic languages, especially in a late stage of

development. They are thus not Aramaisms, but grammatical phenomena common to the whole, or to a portion, of the Semitic family. On the other hand, MH has also a considerable number of forms which are quite unknown in Aram., and which could not have arisen if MH had been the artificial creation of men whose natural language was Aram.

8. It is chiefly in the sphere of syntax, particularly in the use of the tenses, the expression of the genitive, and the construction of the dependent clause, that MH deviates most from BH, and comes nearest to Aram. But this is due to the fact that, whereas BH is a highly poetical literary language, MH, like Aram., is a simple homely idiom, with no pretence whatever to poetical or picturesque expression. The refined, but often ambiguous, constructions of the poetical prose of BH could not have survived in the daily speech of the people throughout those centuries of violent changes which followed upon the golden age of BH literature. Refinement of expression had to be sacrificed to clearness and usefulness. Thus, popular Hebrew of daily use must have freed itself from the conventionalized literary forms of BH at a comparatively early date, if it ever had been subject to them at all. The simplification of Hebrew syntax in speech was in time reflected also in literature. It is possible to trace this gradual process of simplification in the later books of the Hebrew Bible, until we reach the severe plainness and baldness of MH. No doubt, Aram. exercised a powerful influence in that direction. But the tendency was inherent in Hebrew itself, and if left alone Hebrew would have developed on somewhat similar lines, though perhaps not so rapidly as it actually did under Aram. influence.

9. The evidence of MH grammar is strongly supported by MH vocabulary. It is true that MH has a large number of words which are common in Aram. But, on the other hand, it can also show a considerable number of words which are not found in Aram.

As is to be expected of two closely related dialects living side by side, MH borrowed extensively from Aram., but so did Aram., especially Jewish Aram., borrow extensively from MH, particularly in the sphere of religion and the higher life.¹ The presence of so many Aram. words and expressions in MH can affect its genuine Hebraic character as little as, for example, the numerical preponderance of the Latin element in the English dictionary can affect the genuine Teutonic character of the English language; or, let it be said, as little as the presence in Aram. itself of so many Hebrew and other foreign words and phrases can affect the Aramean character of the old language of Syria and Mesopotamia.

10. Moreover, a detailed examination and analysis of the MH vocabulary, such as is given below for the verb (§§ 83-102), reveals the fact that the Aram. influence on the MH vocabulary has been exaggerated in the same way as the Aram. influence on the MH grammar. It has been the fashion among writers on the subject to brand as an Aramaism any infrequent Hebrew word which happens to be found more or less frequently in the Aram. dialects. Most of these 'Aramaisms' are as native in Hebrew as they are in Aram. Many of them are also found in other Semitic languages. The lists given below show that of the 300 new verbs in MH only some 25 verbs can be described as undoubtedly genuine Aram. loan-words. The other so-called Aram. verbs are either ordinary Semitic words (§ 95), or are common to both Hebrew and Aram. (§ 94).

11. Further, the lists given there also show a group of over fifty verbs which are common to BH and to Aram. of the Mišnaic period, and yet are not found in MH (§ 84). If MH was merely a Hebraized Aram., or an artificial mixture of Aram. and BH, why did it not appropriate those verbs which belonged to

¹ Even the Christian dialect of Palestinian Aram. borrowed freely from MH; cf. Nöldeke, *ZDMG.*, xxii, pp. 513, 522.

both the elements of which it is said to have been composed? Again, the lists show a group of over thirty verbs of undoubted Semitic origin which are peculiar to MH, and which are not found even in Aram. (§ 93). How is one to explain the origin of these verbs, if MH was but an artificial mongrel, made up of BH and Aram.?

12. The same phenomenon appears in the other parts of the MH vocabulary. Thus, in the particles we have only a dozen or so loan-words from Aram., against a considerable number of new formations and adaptations from old Hebrew words and expressions (§§ 294, 300, 302, 304). The numerals are practically all identical with BH, and free from Aramaisms (§§ 394 ff.). So also the pronoun exhibits some interesting new formations, but is practically free from Aram. influences (§§ 66-81). In the noun, MH has borrowed much from Aram.; but it has also borrowed much from Greek, Latin, and other sources. On the other hand, the substance of the MH noun rests on the BH noun, not only in its grammatical, but also in its lexical character. Furthermore, as in the case of the verb, MH has preserved a considerable number of old Hebrew nouns not found in BH or in Aram., and, in addition, has coined from Hebrew roots many new names for objects and ideas produced by the changed conditions of life (cf. §§ 217 ff., and the nouns enumerated in 'Formation of Nouns', §§ 220 ff.).

13. It is clear from the facts presented by its grammar and vocabulary that MH had an independent existence as a natural living speech, growing, developing, and changing in accordance with its own genius, and in conformity with the laws which govern the life of all languages in general, and the Semitic languages in particular. It was greatly influenced by Aram., its close neighbour and rival, but it was not submerged by Aram. till after some centuries, when political factors made it impossible for MH

to continue as a living speech. The home of MH was Palestine. So long as the Jewish people retained some sort of national existence in Palestine, MH continued to be the language of at least a section of the Jewish people living in Palestine. As Jewish life in Palestine gradually decayed, and eventually suffered total extinction, so MH was banished step by step from everyday life, and eventually, towards the end of the Mišnaic period, became confined to the learned in the schools and academies. With the ruin of these schools in Palestine, MH disappeared altogether from its native home, but continued to exist side by side with Aram. in the Jewish academies of Babylon, whither it had been carried by the Palestinian immigrants. When, in their turn, the Babylonian academies also decayed, towards the end of the Talmudic period, the last remnant of MH died out. The dialect continued a more or less fitful and precarious existence as a literary medium, until it passed into the new literary dialect of Medieval Hebrew.

14. We may now attempt to define more precisely the relation of MH to BH. In defining this relation we have to recapitulate the lexical and grammatical characteristics of MH, already briefly outlined above.

The bulk of the MH vocabulary is found in BH. This applies especially to the most necessary words, such as pronouns, numerals, particles, and the most common verbs and nouns. But a considerable number of BH words have been lost in MH, particularly words that were rare in BH, and used only in poetry, even though these were common and prosaic words in Aram. (cf. for verbs, §§ 84 ff.). On the other hand, MH shows a considerable number of words of undoubted Hebrew origin, which are not found in BH. This may, indeed, be due to a mere accident, in view of the scanty and fragmentary remains of BH literature. Nevertheless, the possession by MH of Hebrew words not known in BH

establishes the important fact that MH was not derived from BH, but that it drew its lexical material from a source much wider than the literature of the Hebrew Bible. What was that source? Was it a literary source, more extensive than the Hebrew Bible, containing, in addition to the Bible, books discarded when the Canon of Scripture was fixed, and now lost, but familiar to the creators of MH (assuming again that MH was an artificial creation of the Rabbis)? This is hardly probable. For if those lost books were of such merit and value, that the Rabbis thought them worthy of the closest and most intimate study, and became familiar with their vocabulary as with the vocabulary of the books of the Bible themselves, then those books would not have been excluded from the Canon as of no value, or as of heterodox tendencies. It is much more reasonable to assume that the MH vocabulary was in the main drawn not from a literary source, but from the actual Hebrew speech of daily life which preceded the Mišnaic period, and which, of course, possessed many Hebrew words that did not find their way into the books of the Bible. If this assumption be correct, MH is the direct lineal descendant of the spoken Hebrew of the Biblical period, as distinguished from the literary Hebrew of the Biblical period preserved in the Hebrew Scriptures.

This explains also why MH has not preserved the poetical words and expressions of BH. These words and expressions were not used at all, or only rarely, in the colloquial Hebrew of Biblical times, which was the ancestor of MH. This also explains the homely and severely prosaic character of MH. It was a purely colloquial, one might say a vulgar idiom, directly descended from an older colloquial or vulgar idiom.¹

¹ We use the term 'vulgar' in its original sense of popular. The explanation that the usual prosaic baldness of MH is due to the technical character of the *halaka* leaves out the extensive *haggada* which, though not technical, is yet

15. This view of the origin of MH affords also a satisfactory explanation of the grammatical characteristics of the dialect. As has already been stated above, MH agrees in the main with BH grammar. Its various differences from BH consist chiefly of BH irregularities which have become the regular type in MH. On examination these will be found to be colloquial and popular variations from the standardized literary idiom. Cf. below the discussion on the pronouns אֲנִי, § 68; הֵלֵלִי, הֵלֵלָה, § 73; שֶׁ, § 78; the Nithpa'el, § 131; the consecutive tenses, § 157, &c. Some of these variations are probably due to differences of dialect in the Hebrew spoken in different parts of Palestine. Traces of the existence of dialects, especially in Northern Palestine, are found even in BH.¹ The concentration of all Jewish life in Palestine in and around Jerusalem, which began towards the end of the Judean monarchy, and which lasted throughout the period of the second Temple, must have introduced those dialectal variations into the speech of Jerusalem. From the spoken vernacular these irregularities found their way also into the literary dialect of the time. Hence the phenomenon that from the days of Jeremiah onwards, BH begins to show, in constantly increasing numbers, forms and expressions which are the normal type in MH, and many of which are also found in Aram.

16. It is not possible to trace the rise and development of MH, owing to the lack of early literary monuments in the dialect. The earlier *halaka* still shows a free and picturesque mode of expression, cf. לֹא מִפִּיָּהּ אֲנִי חֵיִן, נִסְתַּחֲפָה שְׂדֵךְ, Ket. i. 6; מוֹבֵט עֵץ, 7; הָיִיחַ מְעוֹתָיו, ix. 2; בּוֹשֵׁל שְׂבָהּ, iii. 5; שׁוֹתֶה בַּעֲצִיצוֹ, 7; דְּרוֹסֶת אִישׁ, פָּשַׁט לוֹ אֶת הָרֶגֶל, 3; הַבָּנִים יִשְׁאַלּוּ עַל הַפִּתְתִּים, xiii. 2; עַל קֶרֶן הָעֶבֶר,

similar in its diction to the *halaka*. That the *halaka* was sometimes capable of picturesque expression, is shown by the examples cited in § 16.

¹ Cf. below, § 78; Stade, *Heb. Gr.*, pp. 11–14; Bergsträsser, *ZAW.*, xix, pp. 41 ff.; Szejnér, pp. 27 ff.

אֵשֶׁב עַד שְׁלֵבִין רֹאשִׁי, 5; יִפְרַח בְּאֵזִיר, 7; also BQ. i. 1, &c. Also the descriptive passages in Yo. i. 5, 7, &c.; Suk. iv. 4, 5; v. 4, &c.; Ta'a. iii. 5; So. i. 4, 6 f.; ix. 15; Men. x. 3 f.; Tam. i. 1 f.; Neg. xii. 5 f.; Pa. iii. 1 f., &c. Contrast also the picturesque tale of Simon the Just, t. Naz. iv. 7; Naz. 4 b, with the style later developed in such tales (מעשיות). A characteristic specimen of the early historical tale is found in Qid. 66 a (§ 126, n.). No doubt many of the Palestinian apocryphal and apocalyptic books must have been composed in a similar style, as can be seen from the Hebrew fragments of such compositions that have come down to us.

17. But, nevertheless, BH, with a MH colouring, continued to be the principal literary medium long after it had died out as a living speech, as is shown by the later books of BH. There can be no doubt that the authors of Chronicles, Esther, Ecclesiastes, Daniel, Sirach, and the Psalms of Solomon did not use BH in their ordinary everyday life. BH was to them only a literary and artificial medium of expression which they had acquired in the schools from the study of the old sacred literature. That is why they sometimes show awkwardness in handling the old Hebrew idiom, and difficulty in expressing their thoughts with clearness and exactness. That is also why they often lapse into usages and expressions which remind us of MH or of Aram. What language did the authors of those late BH books speak in their daily life? Or, in other words, what was the language of ordinary life of educated native Jews in Jerusalem and Judea in the period from 400 B. C. E. to 150 C. E.? The evidence presented by MH and its literature leaves no doubt that that language was MH. Of course, those educated Judeans also understood Aram., and used it even in writing, but only occasionally, and not habitually—in the same way as the educated Boer in South Africa sometimes uses English, or as the Flamand in Belgium may often use French.

18. Thus, for a number of generations, the Judean Jews

remained Hebrews in their language, using the classical dialect—BH—for literary purposes, and the popular dialect—MH—as a medium of speech in their ordinary daily life, in the school, in the Temple and the Synagogue. Gradually, however, the influx into Jerusalem of Aram.-speaking Jews from the Eastern Diaspora, and also from Galilee, Transjordan, and Syria, established Aram. as a native tongue in Jerusalem. The native Jews then became bi-lingual, using both Aram. and MH indiscriminately in ordinary life, but MH exclusively in the school, and for religious purposes. Eventually, Aram. gained the upper hand, and MH, like BH, became a *לשון חקִדֵּשׁ*, a purely religious language; then, finally, at the end of the Mišnaic period it was reduced to a *לשון חֲבָמִים* (§§ 3, 13).

19. It is possible to indicate only approximately the probable dates of these linguistic changes. The rise of MH may be assigned to the period associated by tradition with the 'Men of the Great Synagogue'. The saying reported of them is already in pure MH (Ab. i. 1). They are also reputed to have been the authors of the oldest portions of the Jewish liturgy, which are likewise couched in MH (cf. Ber. 33a). That period may approximately be identified with the end of the Persian rule and the beginning of the Greek rule in Palestine, say 400–300 B. C. E. The BH books of the period all show distinct traces of MH, viz. Chronicles, Canticles, Esther, and especially Qohelet and Sirach, and also Daniel.¹

20. MH seems to have attained the height of its power during the rise of the Hasmonean dynasty.² Its decline as a spoken language seems to have begun with the fall of that dynasty and

¹ Driver, *Introduction to Lit. of OT*.⁹, pp. 474 f., 484 f., 539 f.

² Cf. Graetz, *Geschichte d. Juden*⁴, III, i, pp. 81–2; Klausner, *Origin of Mishnaic Hb.*, Scripta Universit. Hierosol., Orientalia atque Judaica I, Art. IX.

the reign of Herod. The destruction of many of the native families in the bloody wars which accompanied the coming of the Romans and the establishment of the Herodians (whose original language was probably Aram.); the closer connexion between Jerusalem and the Aram. Jewries of Syria and the Eastern Diaspora which followed on the incorporation of Palestine in the Roman Empire; and the settlement of those Aram.-speaking Jews in Jerusalem, all tended to spread the use of Aram. at the expense of MH. But MH still remained a popular speech, as is testified by numerous passages in its literature. Thus, e.g., the Jewish damsels at their dances in the vineyards sing to the young men in MH (Ta'a. iv. 8); the taunt-song against the tyranny of the powerful priests is in MH (Pes. 57a; t. Men. xiii. 21); popular vows are in MH (Ned. i. 1, &c.).¹

21. Finally, the destruction of Jewish life in Judea after the defeat of Bar Kokba (135 C.E.), and the establishment of the new Jewish centre in the Aram.-speaking Galilee, seem to have led to the disappearance of MH as a popular tongue. In that age we find R. Meir pleading for the preservation of MH speech at least among the pious, just as he pleads against the emigration from the Holy Land, which then prevailed in consequence of the Roman oppression. The Aramaization of the Jews in Palestine was completed one generation later, when Rabbi complains of the exclusive use of Aram. in the Land of Israel (cf. § 3).²

¹ Cf. **בנדרים הכך אחר לשון בני אדם**, N'd. 30b, 51b and Rashi, *ad loc.*

² Nevertheless, Rabbi's words prove that MH was still thought of as a language of everyday life. So two generations later than Rabbi, R. Jonathan of Beit Jibrin says: **אַרְבַּע לְשׁוֹנוֹת נָאָה לְעוֹלָם שִׁישְׁתָּמוּשׁוֹ בָּהֶם לְעוֹלָם לְיָמֵינוּ**:—There are four tongues good for the world to make use of: the Foreign (= Greek) for song, the Roman for war, Sursi (= Syriac) for lamentation, and Hebrew for (ordinary) speech, j. Meg. iv. 4. So R. Joseph's saying (§ 3) proves that MH was known as a spoken language in Babylon in the fourth century C. E.

22. Before concluding this sketch, we may refer briefly to the evidence advanced for the view that Aram. was the exclusive language of the Jews in Judea during our period.¹ This evidence consists in the use of Aram. in Ezra and Daniel, and in *Megillat Ta'anit*; the use in the Synagogue of an Aram. translation (Targum) of the Scriptures; the use of Aram. in legal documents, like *Ke'tuba* (marriage settlement), *Geṭ* (bill of divorcement), &c.; the use of Aram. in inscriptions in the Temple; the reported Aram. sayings of some Rabbis in the Mishna and Tosefta, and of Jesus in the Gospels; the existence of Aram. proper names, and of Aram. words in Josephus.

The most that this evidence can prove is that during our period Aram. was understood and used in Palestine, a fact which nobody denies. It cannot, however, prove that Aram. was the exclusive vernacular of all Jews of that period. For against these remains of Palestinian Aram., there is the vast MH literature, including the MH liturgy; there is, further, MH itself, with all its popular and original elements, to prove that during our period Jews in Judea spoke MH.

23. It must be remembered that Jerusalem was more than merely a Judean city. It was the metropolis of a world-wide Jewry. Beside the native Judean majority, there were in Jerusalem also important colonies of Aram.- and Greek-speaking Jews, especially in Roman times. In addition to the Aram.-speaking residents, vast numbers of Aram.-speaking Jews visited the Holy City for the celebration of the Festivals of the Temple. It is not, therefore, surprising that there were Aram. inscriptions in the Temple, just as there were also Greek inscriptions (Š^{eq.} vi. 5; iii. 2); that there were numerous Aram. proper names, just as there were numerous Greek proper names; that the Synagogue used an Aram. Targum for the benefit of unlettered Galilean and Oriental

¹ The evidence is collected by G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, pp. 1-13.

Jews, or that the calendar of the *Megillat Ta'anit* (completed c. 70 c. E.), intended as it was for all classes of Jews, should have been composed in Aram.; or that certain legal documents of common and universal use should have been in Aram. Against the few isolated sayings of Hillel (a Babylonian!), and some other Rabbis, there are numerous sayings by the same Rabbis in MH.¹ So also Josephus cites Hebrew words in addition to Aram. (cf. *Antiquities*, iii. 7; x. 6). With regard to the language of Jesus, it is admitted that in the Roman period, and perhaps earlier, Aram. was the vernacular of the native Galilean Jews. But even in Galilee, MH was understood and spoken, at least by the educated classes.

24. The Aram. chapters in Ezra and Daniel, dealing as they do with Babylonian and Persian subjects, may have been the work of Jews of the Eastern Diaspora. This seems very probable, at least, with regard to the Aram. in Ezra. A Jerusalem Jew would not have said *אָנֹכִי . . . לִירוּשָׁלַם* (iv. 23), but *אֲנִי . . . לִירוּשָׁלַם*. Again, a Jerusalem Jew would not have described the Temple repeatedly as *בֵּית אֱלֹהֵא דִּי בִירוּשָׁלַם* (iv. 24; v. 2, 16; vi. 12, 18).

25. The same may be said of Aram. legal documents. It is possible that the formulae of the *Ketuba*, *Gef.*, &c., originated in Babylonia, and their Aram. was retained also by MH-speaking Jews, in order to give these documents the recognition of the Persian authority.² On the other hand, legal documents of undoubted Judean origin were composed in MH. So the *Prosbol*, instituted by Hillel (*Šebi.* x. 4), the *קיום שְׁטַר* (confirmation of a bill that has become illegible, BB x. 6), and scrolls of genealogy

¹ Note the express remark of the narrator: *וּבְלָשׁוֹן אֲרָמִית אָמְרוּ וּבְלָשׁוֹן* *אֲרָמִית שָׁמְעוּ*;—he said (he heard) them in the Aram. tongue, t. So. xiii. 4-6, as if the use of Aram. by Samuel the Little (died c. 70 c. E.) and Simeon the Just called for a special explanation.

² Cf. Cowley, *Aram. Papyri*, p. 119. For early *Ketubot* in Aram. *ibid.*, pp. 44, 54, 131.

(Y^{eb.} iv. 13. In Qid. iv. 1 we have an extract of such a document in Aram., with, however, several Aramaized Hebrew terms: *יְהוֹשִׁיעַ*, *יְהוֹרִי*, &c. This Mishna is attributed to the Babylonian Hillel, Y^{eb.} 37 a). So also a special condition in the Judean *K^{et}tuba* is cited in MH, as contrasted with the Jerusalem and Galilean *K^{et}tubot*, which followed the established legal formula, and are cited in Aram. (K^{et}. iv. 12). Other special conditions in the *K^{et}tuba* are also given in MH (ib. ix. 1, 5). So the *Get* of divorcement and of manumission are cited in MH (Giṭ. ix. 1, 3).

26. The view has also been expressed¹ that the usual language in the Temple was Aram., and that it was only in the last few years of its existence that the Pharisees replaced the Aram. in the Temple by MH. This view is based chiefly on the report that on two occasions High Priests heard in the Temple *Bath Qol* speaking Aram. But, surely, the evidence of such an isolated legendary report cannot outweigh the evidence of innumerable passages in MH literature which prove that the Temple ritual was carried on in MH. No doubt, the Babylonian priests (M^{en}. xi. 7) may have spoken Aram. in the Temple, as elsewhere; but it is incredible that in the Temple of all places, with all its reverence for tradition, Hebrew would have been banished in favour of a new and un-Jewish tongue. Hebrew has remained the exclusive language of the Synagogue to this very day. Even if we had not the evidence of Rabbinic tradition, we should conclude that such was also the case in the ancient Temple.

27. Further, there is no evidence whatever that the use of Hebrew or Aram. was a subject of controversy between the Pharisees and the Sadducees. Nor is there any reason to believe that the Sadducees preferred Aram. to MH. On the contrary, one would be inclined to infer from their exclusive, aristocratic

¹ Büchler, *Die Priester u. d. Cultus*, pp. 60 ff. The account of the *Bat Qol* is found in So. 33 a; t. So. xiii. 4-6.

character, and from their conservative political tendencies, that the Sadducees would have favoured the use of the old national language, rather than the foreign *patois* of the unlettered populace. The sayings of the Sadducees are all reported in MH, cf. Ya. iv. 6–8; Mⁿ. 65 b, &c.; and a conversation between a Sadducee High Priest and his father, Yo. 19 b.

28. In conclusion, we must refer briefly to the linguistic trustworthiness of the Mišnaic tradition, which has been called into question by some writers.¹ Its trustworthiness is established by the old rule, older than the age of Hillel, that a tradition—which, of course, was handed down by word of mouth—must be repeated in the exact words of the master from whom it had been learnt: חֵזִיק אָדָם לְוִיָּר בְּלִשָּׁן רַבּוֹ. This rule was strictly observed throughout the Mišnaic and Talmudic periods (cf. 'Ed. i. 3, with the commentaries; Ber. 47 a; Bek. 5 a), and was, in fact, the basis of the authority of the Oral Law. So careful were the Rabbis in the observance of this rule that they often reproduced even the mannerisms and the personal peculiarities of the Masters from whom they had received a particular tradition, or *halaka*. This rule makes it certain that, at least in most cases, the sayings of the Rabbis have been handed down in the language in which they had originally been expressed. There were, of course, exceptions, as when heathens are made to speak in MH (Ša. 31 a; Ta'a. 18 a, b); but, nevertheless, the rule was strictly observed in all *halakot*, and also in Aggadic and other sayings which are reported as the *ipsissima verba* of the speakers. This linguistic faithfulness of the tradition is proved by the preservation of a number of sayings in Aram. (e.g. 'Ed. viii. 4; Ab. i. 13; v. 22, 23, &c.), and by the preservation of the text of *Megillat Ta'anit* Aram., though the exposition of the text is given in MH.² These

¹ M. Friedmann, *Onkelos u. Akylas*, pp. 86 ff.; Dalman, op. cit., p. 8.

² Cf. Ta'a. 17 b, 18 b; Mⁿ. 65 a, and the special edition, Neubauer, *Medieval Jewish Chronicles*, ii, pp. 3 ff.

Aram. traditions were not translated into MH, but were left in their original language. It follows, therefore, that MH sayings were originally spoken in MH. A striking illustration of the care which the Rabbis took to reproduce the actual language of their predecessors is afforded by the interchange between Aram. and MH in narrative passages. Thus, we often find narratives in MH which contain conversations in Aram. (e.g. So. 48 b; Ša. 31 a, &c.). Again, we find, even more frequently, narratives in Aram. in which the persons of the story are made to speak in MH (e.g. Pes. 3 b; BM 83 b, 84 b, &c.). This change of language between the narrator and the persons introduced into his story is clearly due to a deliberate effort on the part of the narrator to reproduce the original speech of the persons he is reporting, whether MH or Aram.¹

¹ Cf. also Ben Jehudah, ער אימתי דברו עברית, pp. 77 ff.; Szejder, p. 54 (כב).

PART I

PHONOLOGY AND ORTHOGRAPHY

I. PRONUNCIATION

The evidence for the pronunciation of MH may be grouped under two heads:

29. (a) External:

- (1) *The transcription of Greek and Latin words in MH.*¹
- (2) *The transcription of Hebrew words in Greek and Latin, viz. in Origen's Hexapla and in Jerome's writings.*²

This evidence has to be qualified by the consideration of the inequalities which exist between the Hebrew and the Greek and Latin alphabets, and their respective inability to express adequately each other's peculiar sounds. Thus, for example, MH was unable to transcribe correctly the Greek and Latin vowels. Similarly, Greek and Latin were unable to express the Hebrew sibilants, the Hebrew gutturals, and the variation in the sound of the letters, א, א, ד, ב, פ, ת.

- (3) *The traditional pronunciation preserved among the Jews.*

30. This is a valuable witness, representing as it does a living and uninterrupted tradition reaching back to the time when MH was still a living speech. The value of this tradition is, however, discounted by the considerable differences in pronunciation which

¹ Cf. Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, i, §§ 1 ff., and, more briefly, Albrecht, §§ 5, 7-9, 10.

² Cf. Siegfried, *ZAW.*, iv, pp. 35 ff.

exist between the Jews of different countries.¹ Some of these differences are, no doubt, original, and go back to dialectal variations in Hebrew itself as spoken in different parts of Palestine. Others are the result of the influence of the various vernaculars spoken by the Jews in the Diaspora. Moreover, many errors must have crept into the traditional pronunciation. This tradition is, therefore, not to be trusted when it disagrees with the established rules of grammar.

31. (4) *The punctuation, complete or partial, found in some MSS. of the Mishna, and other MH works.*²

This is even less trustworthy than the living pronunciation. There never was an authoritative system of punctuation for the Mishna, as for the Hebrew Bible. The scribes were often ignorant, and never consistent. At best the punctuation in the MSS. can only serve as evidence of the pronunciation current in the time and the locality of the particular scribes.

(b) Internal:

(1) *The method of vocalization by vowel letters.*

32. This is helpful, but insufficient and often misleading, in view of the inadequacy of the few vowel letters to represent what must have been a fairly complicated vowel system. Thus ו represents no less than seven distinct vowel-sounds (o, ȃ, ȃ, ȃ, ȃ; u, ū, ū), י represents six distinct sounds (i, ī, ĩ; ē, ē, ě). Cf. below, § 39.

33. (2) *The mutation of consonants.*

The interchange between various consonantal sounds affords evidence as to the relationship between these sounds, their similarities, and their differences. Cf. below, §§ 42, 44, &c.

¹ On the various systems of pronunciation among Jews cf. A. Z. Idelsohn, *MGWJ.*, vol. lvii 527 ff., 697 ff.; M. B. Szejder, תּוֹרַת הַלָּשׁוֹן, pp. 117 ff.

² This punctuation, as also the whole of the MS. material of MH, still awaits special investigation.

(3) *Information in MH literature.*

34. The literature contains a few scattered notices which shed some light on contemporary pronunciation, particularly the guttural letters. Cf. below, § 41.

35. (4) *The analogy of BH, as represented by the Massoretic Text of the Hebrew Scriptures.*

This is undoubtedly the most valuable witness for the correct pronunciation of MH. The gradual fixing of the present text of the Hebrew Scriptures took place in the MH period. The men responsible for that text spoke MH, and the living MH speech must have been reflected to a considerable extent in the form given to the Authorized Text, especially in the vowels.

II. THE VOWELS

1. Vowel Changes.

36. In the absence of a trustworthy system of punctuation in MH, it is not possible to determine with any certainty the character and value of the MH vowels, or to ascertain what modifications they had undergone in comparison with the BH vowels. The spelling gives us no help. The three vowel letters א, י, ו, corresponding to the three Semitic vowels, *a*, *i*, *u*, are used to represent a large variety of modifications of these three vowels, both short and long, simple and composite. On the whole, it may be assumed, for the reason given in the last section, that the MH vowel system is identical with the latest form of the BH vowels, as represented in our consonantal texts of the Hebrew Bible, and in the system of punctuation elaborated in later centuries by the Massoretic Schools. No doubt, there must have been also a strong Aram. influence on the pronunciation of the MH vowels, but with our present knowledge of the subject, it is impossible to say

what that influence was. Moreover, this Aram. influence would have been operative also on the contemporary pronunciation of the BH vowels, if not to the same extent. The various sources of external evidence enumerated above in (a) have, unfortunately, not yet been investigated and compared. But it may safely be said that that evidence would not materially modify this statement.

37. A vowel change which has no parallel in BH is found in the change of \bar{e} into \bar{a} in two nouns: אִם mother, becomes אִם in the derived significance of 'the matrix of a female, and of a millstone', T^hoh. ix. 8, and then 'bulk', 'substance', Neg. i. 5;¹ and שֵׁם name, becomes שִׁם in the derived sense of 'subject', chiefly in later texts, and with the preposition מִן = מִשִּׁם because, Pea i. 3. So also with other prepositions, e.g. עַל שִׁם Pes. x. 5, &c. But this latter is most probably an Aramaism due to the scribes.² Palestinian texts show also a change of \bar{a} into \bar{u} , as רִצְעֹן — רִצְעֹן; קִרְדִּים — קִרְדִּים, cf. § 267. This vowel change is common in Palestinian Jewish Aram.

¹ L. reads here אִם. So Lev. R. 14 = matrix. In the original sense of 'mother' אִם is found only once, j. Y^b. xi. 1. The change is due to assimilation with the labial *m*. Cf. the Assyr. *ummu*, and the Arab. أُم. This form is not found in Aram.

² L. has usually שֵׁם, even with prepositions when other texts have שִׁם. [So cod. K; Krauss, *MGWJ*, li, p. 452.] With the preposition ל, it is almost always לִשֵּׁם in all texts. L, however, has sometimes לִשִּׁם by the side of לִשֵּׁם, e.g. Z^b. i. 2, 3. Cf. Assyr. *šumu*. Jewish Aram. has both שֵׁם and שִׁם. Syr. only شَم. See König, *Lehrgebäude*, i. 2, p. 512. See further, Weiss, *מִלֵּה"מ*, pp. 14–15; Bacher, *Älteste Terminologie*, p. 118; *Terminologie d. Amoräer*, p. 218. Albrecht's suggestion (§ 6) that שִׁם is an artificial modification to distinguish this meaning of שֵׁם from its use for the Divine name is disproved by the great frequency of the use of שִׁם in a secular sense. Moreover, the use of this form שִׁם belongs to a later stage in MH, when the Deity was described by other terms, such as הַמְקוֹם, הַקַּב"ה, &c.

2. The Spelling of Vowels.

38. The vowels are represented in MH by vowel letters much more frequently than in BH. The vowel letters are, as in BH, א, ה, ו, and י.

א. The א is used as in BH to represent *a* and *ā*: ראשי heads, RH iii. 1, &c.; אלא but, Ber. i. 2; כאן here, ibid. i. 4;¹ at the end of a word in foreign feminine nouns: טבלא *tabula*, MQ iii. 7; הגמוניא ἡγεμονία, Git. i. 1. This is an Aramaism which is also found in BH.² א is found also after other vowels whenever it belongs to the root, קורא, יאכל, לא, אלמלא if not, Ab. iii. 2. After *ā*, *ǎ*, when followed by ו, or in some texts by י, to indicate that the ו or י are consonants: לאו not, Ber. i. 1; בנאי a builder, Kel. xiv. 3; גובאי locusts, Ber. vi. 3; זבאי innocent, San. iii. 6; רשאי permitted, Ber. i. 7.³

ה. The ה is found as a vowel letter only at the end of a word. Its use is exactly the same as in BH.

39. ו. The ו represents not only *u* and *o*, but also *ū*, *ǔ*, and *ō*, *ǒ*, *o*: מקובל accepted, Ber. v. 5; ליבט gathered, Pea v. 1; בובר heaviness, Ber. v. 1; גובהן their height, רוחבן their breadth, עוביין their thickness, 'Er. i. 6; עומרין sheaves, Pea vi. 1; עומרין vi. 5; חומשים fifths, Ter. vi. 4.⁴

¹ L. has always כן, cf. below, § 295.

² Cf. Ges.-K., § 80 h. L, however, retains a final ה also in such foreign words. Cf. also in native words: צנעה, L צניעה, privacy; P's. 1, 3 קיימא; L. קיימה, existence, Y^eb. iv. 1, שמוא (§ 302), &c. מהוה Kel. xxiv. 17; Toh. ix. 9 (ed. מהוה) has א at the end, owing to the presence of the ה twice before in the same word. Cf. נמהה, Kel. xxvii. 12.

³ Cf. the plural forms רשאים, זבאים below, § 282. L. has usually יי for אי. See below, § 56.

⁴ L. has עמרים, חמשים. So elsewhere L. has the defective spelling, e.g. כתלו for ed. כותלו, BB ii. 4, &c. So cod. K, Krauss, *MGWJ*, li, p. 325; but see below, § 282.

Similarly, the ם is found also after ץ, ם, and ץ, e. g. מִידָה measure, Ber. ix. 7 ; הָיָה directed, ii. 1 ; עֲבִירָה transgression, i. 3 ; חֲבִירָתָהּ her companion, Šab. xi. 5.

Sometimes ם follows ā before ם to indicate the consonantal character of ם : עֲבָשָׁיו, עֲנִיו, Ber. 6 b, on the analogy of such forms as בָּנָיו, בָּבְרָיו. Some Pal. texts have even לָיו for לָאו.

It must be added that this method of spelling is not always applied consistently, and that it often differs from text to text. But as a rule, the full spelling is more common than the defective spelling, particularly when the consonants might be read in more than one way.¹

For the rendering in MH of Greek and Latin vowels, cf. Krauss, *Lehmvörter*, i, § 23 ff. (for MH and Aram.), Albrecht, § 7.

III. THE CONSONANTS

40. What has been said above on the pronunciation of the MH vowels is also true to a very high degree of the MH consonants. The pronunciation of the consonants was, on the whole, the same as in BH at the time of the Massoretic redaction of the Scriptures. The evidence of the other sources is, however, fuller in the case of the consonants than the vowels. In what follows we shall briefly summarize this evidence, and also tabulate the various mutations among the consonants.

1. The Gutturals א, ה, ח, ע.

41. The various BH gutturals were still distinguished in MH as late as the fourth century C. E. Thus we find later Amoraim discussing whether certain words in the Mishna should be pro-

¹ Cf. also below in verbs, §§ 122, 126 ; and in the plural of nouns, § 282. For isolated cases in BH, cf. Ges.-K., § 90. The full spelling is also usual in Medieval Hebrew ; cf. סֵפֶר חֲסִידִים, § תתפ"ו ; Güdemann, הַתּוֹרָה וְהַחַיִּים, i, p. 153.

nounced with א or ע: גְּמִיָּאָה or גְּמִיָּעָה sipping, Šab. viii. 1; גְּרֵינִין or גְּרֵינִין kernels, vii. 4; אִמְמוֹת or עִמְמוֹת dim, Pes. 75 b; מְעַמְצִין or מְעַמְצִין shutting the eyes, Šab. xxiii. 5 (Šab. 75 a); מְעַבְרִין or מְעַבְרִין extend, 'Er. v. 1; אֶכוֹז or אֶכוֹז¹ buttock, Bek. vi. 6 ('Er. 53 a, b); אִירֵהוּ or אִירֵהוּ heathen festivals ('AZ. 2 a). This can only refer to the pronunciation and not to the spelling in a written text, and proves that there was yet a distinction in the sound of א and ע. But this distinction was not universal. Thus we are told in a *Baraita* (beginning of the third century, Meg. 24 b) that people of certain localities, including Beth Shean and Haifa, could not distinguish between א and ע. The same is said of the school of R. Eliezer b. Jacob (end of second century, Ber. 32 a), and of the Galileans who are held up to ridicule for their slovenliness in speech, particularly in the pronunciation of the gutturals ('Er. 53 b). They, together with certain others, could not distinguish between any of the gutturals. Thus, חֲרָדֶל mustard, they pronounced הֲרָדֶל, and וְהִבְתִּי לָהּ (Isa. viii. 17) they read וְהִבְתִּי, which was tantamount to blasphemy (Meg., loc. cit.).²

Jerome still heard a distinction in the various gutturals, though in his transcription, as also in that of Origen, the differentiation between the hard and the soft ח, the hard and the soft ע, was not copied from living speech, but rather from the older transcription of the LXX. (But note the mutation of ח and כ, § 43).

42. Transcription from the Greek and Latin.

א equals the Gk. *spiritus lenis*: אֵייר ἄηρ, Šab. xi. 3; אֶפְרוֹדִיטִי = Ἀφροδίτη, 'AZ. iii. 4. א represents the Lat. initial vowel, like אֵיטָלִיקִי *italicus*, Šebi. i. 2; but also initial H: אֶדְרִיאֲנִי Hadrianic, 'AZ. ii. 3; and initial V: אֶסְפָּסִינוֹס Vespasian, So. ix. 14.

¹ Or עכוז; cf. Kohut, *Aruch.*, i. 74; iv. 157 ff.

² Cf. also j. B'r. ii. 4, viii. 6; j. 'Er. v. 1; j. 'AZ. i. 2; Gen. R. 26; Lam. R. ii. 2. See Dalman, *Gram. d. jüd.-Pal. Aram.*², p. 57 f.; Berliner, *Beiträge z. heb. Gram. in Talmud*, p. 15 ff.; Frankel, 'מבוא הירוש', 49 a.

ה represents the Gk. *spiritus asper*: הַגְמוֹנִיָּה ἡγεμονία, Git. i. 1; הִילִינִי Ἑλένη, Yo. iii. 10; rarely also the *spiritus lenis*: הִדְיוֹט ἰδιώτης, Yo. vii. 5; הַכְּלָסִים ἄχυλος, Ter. xi. 4.

ה equals *spiritus asper* in הִילָק ἀλικός (a kind of salt fish), 'AZ. ii. 6; also sometimes χ: חִלְקִיפָרִי Χαλκοπάρειος, Makš. i. 3.

ע seems to represent the *spiritus lenis* in עָמִיל ἄμυλον, Pes. iii. 1 (but some texts have אָמִל, אָמִיל).

Mutation of the Gutturals.

43. א and ה. As a rule, Palestinian texts prefer initial א, and Babylonian texts ה: הִיבֵן, L.: אִיבֵן where, 'Er. x. 15¹; הַגְדוֹת, L.: אַגְדוֹת *Aggadot*, Ned. iv. 3. Conversely, אֹנֶן, L.: הֹנֶן² rim, 'Er. viii. 6; Kel. xxv. 6; אֹנָאָה, L.: הֹנָאָה wrong, BM iv. 3; אִילָף further, Ber. i. 2, and הִילָף, Pes. vii. 13; אֹהֶרָה = הֹהֶרָה forewarning, Pes. iii. 1. Cf. below, §§ 249, 295.

א and ע: אִיפָר and עִיפָר, L., valuation, San. iv. 5; אִירוּנִיּוֹת, L., עִירוּנִיּוֹת urban, 'Ed. ii. 5; בָּאוֹר, BQ ix. 4, and בָּעוֹר, 'Ar. iii. 1, ugly; יִתְעַבֵּל, L., יִתְאַבֵּל to be digested, Ber. viii. 7. Cf. above, § 41.

ה and ח: חָרִיעַ, L., הָרִיעַ bastard saffron, Kil. ii. 8; חִידוֹק = הִידוֹק sticking,³ Kel. iii. 5; מוֹחֵל, L., מוֹהֵל secretion,⁴ Miq. vii. 4; מַחָה to be shabby, worn, Kel. xxvii. 12 = BH מַחָה.

ח and כ: לְכַלּוֹף⁵ soiling, Miq. ix. 4 = לְחַלּוֹחַ, from לָח wet. This shows that there was also a hard pronunciation of the ח, as in earlier BH.

¹ Cf. BH. הִיף (Dan. x. 17; 1 Chron. xiii. 12) with אִיף (2 Sam. vi. 9).

² Cf. BH. אִנְנוֹת (Exod. xxiv. 6).

³ As in Aram. Cf. Kohut, iii, pp. 185 f., 349 a.

⁴ Cf. BH. מַהוֹל (Isa. i. 22). See Kohut, v, p. 109.

⁵ Cf. Kohut, v, pp. 31, 40 f.

2. The Palatals ג, כ, ק.

Transcription from Greek and Latin.

44. ג transcribes the Gk. γ, and the Lat. *g*: גַּמָּא γαμμα, Mid. iii. 1: גֵּינוֹסִיאָ γενέσια, 'AZ. i. 3; אֲנִטִּינֹנוֹס Ἀντίγονος, Ab. i. 3; גֵּרָדוֹן gradus, 'AZ. i. 7. ג may, perhaps, also represent the Gk. κ in גֵּימוֹן, Šab. v. 4, κημός. Combined with י, ג represents ξ in גֵּוֹזְטָרָא ἐξώστρα, BB iii. 8. L., however, has here and elsewhere בְּצוֹצְרָה.

So Jerome renders ג by *g*. He does not distinguish the dageshed ג from the raphe ג, most probably because the Lat. alphabet possessed no equivalents for these finer sound distinctions.

כ represents Gk. χ: כִּי the letter χ, Men. vi. 3; also Gk. κ: כּוֹכְלִיָּר κοχλιάριον; כּוֹכְלִית κοχλίας, Šab. vi. 3. Also in combination with ם, the Gk. ξ: אֲכִסְדָּרָה ἐξέδρα, 'Er. viii. 4; אֲכִסְנִיאָ ξενιά (with prosthetic א, cf. below, § 64), Dam. iii. 1.

Jerome renders כ by *ch*. He does not distinguish between כ and ך, for the reason stated above.

ק represents the Gk. κ: קוֹלָמוֹס κάλαμος, Šab. i. 3; קִרְקוֹן δράκων, 'AZ. iii. 3; rarely χ: אֲסַחְרִיטִין ἐσχαρίτης, Ha. i. 4. Together with ם, it renders also the Gk. ξ at the end of a word: פִּנְנָקס πίναξ, Ab. iii. 6.

ק transcribes the Lat. *c*: מְלִנְדָּם Calendae, 'AZ. i. 3; קַסְדָּא cassis, Šab. vi. 2. Combined with י, it renders *qu*: קוֹסְטוֹר quaestor, Bek. v. 3 (L. Babylonian texts have קַסְטוֹר or קַסְדִּוֹר).

So Jerome transcribes ק by *c*.

Mutation of the Palatals.

45. ג and כ: מוֹג to dilute, mix, Dam. vii. 2, BH מסך. Cf 'AZ. 54 b, cited above, § 3. בּגַר to be of age, Ket. iii. 8, BH בכר. Cf. also גֵּוֹזְטָרָא, L. בְּצוֹצְרָה, cited above, § 44.

ג and ק: מְקַרְדִּין to scrape, 'Ed. iii. 12, BH גרר; קִפֵּץ very tall, Bek. vii. 6, BH גִּבֵּץ.

כ and ק: קָרַס to cut, nibble, Pea ii. 7, BH בָּרַס; קָפַל to double, fold, Šab. ii. 3, BH כָּפַל.

For the mutation between כ and ח, cf. above, § 42.

3. The Dentals ד, ט, ת.

46. ד represents Gk. δ: דִּיתִיקִי διαθήκη, MQ iii. 3; דִּרְקוֹן δράκων, 'AZ. iii. 3. Also sometimes τ: פֶּרוֹדִיר προστάς, Ab. iv. 16. Lat. d: דִּינָר denarius, Men. xiii. 4; פּוֹנְדָה funda, Ber. ix. 5.

Jerome also renders ד by d, whether aspirate or soft (ד, ד̄).

ט represents Gk. τ: טָפּוּס τυπος, Dam. v. 3, 5; לִיטָרָה λίτρα, Ter. iv. 10; but also sometimes θ: אֶסְטִינִים ἀσθενής, Ber. ii. 6; אֶבְטִינוֹס Eὐθυνος, Yo. i. 5. Rarely δ: קְפוּטָקִיא (L. 'קפור'), Καππαδοκία, Ket. xiii. 10.

Lat. t: טְבֻלָה tabula, אֶסְקוּטָלָה scutella, MQ iii. 7. So Jerome renders ט by t.

ת represents the Gk. θ: תִּיקִי θήκη, Šab. xvi. 1; תוֹרְמוֹס θέρμος, Kil. i. 3; אֶפּוֹתִיק ἀποθήκη, 'AZ. 117. Lat. th: קִלְתָה calathus, Bik. iii. 8. So Jerome renders ת by th.

Mutation of Dentals.

47. ד and ט: דָּמוּע mixed, Ter. v. 6, and טָמַע, Ket. 14 b; טָפּוּס, Dam. v. 4, and דָּפּוּס, in citation of Bab. Talmud, BM 56 a, and elsewhere.

ד and ז: זָלַף to pour, drip, Pa. vi. 2, BH; דִּלְף, שְׁדֶרָה spinal cord, Hul. iii. 2, L. שְׁדֶרָה.

ט and ת: טָעָה to err, Ber. ii. 3, BH תָּעָה; perhaps טְבֵל untithed, Dam. vii. 5, BH תָּבֵל.¹ For mutation between ט, ס, צ, cf. below, § 51.

4. The Labials ב, פ.

48. ב, whether dageshed or raphe, represents Gk. β: בִּימוֹס or (L.) בּוֹמוֹס βωμός, 'AZ. iii. 7, Yo. viii. 6; בּוֹלִימוֹס βούλιμος, קובץ

¹ Cf. Barth, *Etymol. Stud.*, p. 37.

κυβεία, San. iii. 3. Rarely through mutation also π: בְּרִדְלִים πάρδαλις, BQ i. 4 (some texts have 'פרד'); אֲבִטְלִמוֹס Πτολεμαῖος, 'Er. iii. 4; and even φ: דּוּלְבָקִי δελφική, 'AZ. v. 5 (in some texts more correctly דּוּלְפָקִי).

Further, ב represents υ in εὔ: אֲבִטְיִנוֹס Eὐθυνος, Yo. i. 5; לְבָקוֹ λευκόν, B^ek. vii. 6; אֲבִיתוֹס (L., other texts have ו: אֲוִתְיִנוֹס) εὐθέως, Nid. ii. 2. ב represents Lat. b: בָּסִילָא basilica, 'AZ. i. 7; טַבְּלָה tabula, MQ iii. 7; לִבְלָר libellarius, Pea ii. 6; but also v: בִּיבָרִין vivarium, Šab. xiii. 5.

Jerome always transcribes ב by b, whether dageshed or raphe, never by v.

פ represents Gk. π: פּוֹלֶמוֹס πόλεμος, So. ix. 14; פְּרִצִיף πρόσωπον, Y^eb. xvi. 3. The Gk. φ: פִּי־לִי φιάλη, So. ii. 2; אֲפֹרֹדִיטִי Ἀφροδίτη, 'AZ. iii. 4.

With ס the Gk. ψ: אֲפְסוֹנִיָּא ὀψωνία, San. ii. 4; פְּסִכְתֵּר ψυκτήρ, 'Er. x. 15; לַפְסֵן λαμψάνη, Kil. i. 5.

The Lat. p: מַפָּה mappa, Ber. viii. 3; קַפְנִדְרִיָּא (via) compendiaria, 'AZ. v. 4; נַפְוִץ (L. נַפּוּס) napsus, Kil. i. 5.

Lat. f: פְּלִיטוֹן foliatum, Šab. vi. 2, viii. 2; אֲפִוּנְדָּה funda, B^er. ix. 5. Perhaps also b in סַפְסָל subsellium, Šab. xxiii. 5.¹

In LXX, פ is always transcribed by φ, never by π, except פֶּסחַ, and foreign names. So Jerome transcribes it always by ph, never by f, or p. He expressly states that only פ in אֲפִדְנִי (Dan. xi. 45) equals Lat. p.

49. Mutation between ב and פ.

פִקַע to split, break, Ta'a. 15 b, BH בקַע; עִפֵּשׁ to be mouldy, Pes. 7 a, BH עִפֵּשׁ; קַפָּח, Bek. vii. 6, BH קִפָּח; אֲבִקִי outlet, Miq. vi. 10, perhaps BH אֲפִיק; בִּבְבֶּב arched, hollow vessel, Kel. ii. 3, from BH בִּפְפָה: הֶפְקָר = הֶבְקָר, in Pal. texts, ownerless property, Pea vi. 1.

For the mutation between ב and ו, cf. below, § 57.

¹ Jastrow, *Dictionary*, s. v. derives it from סַפָּל.

5. The Sibilants ם, ש, ז, צ.

50. MH has preserved the distinction between the three similar sibilants, ם, ש, ז. Thus ש is preserved in a considerable number of words: בְּשָׂמִים, בָּשָׂר, נִשָּׂא, עֵשָׂה, עֵשָׂר, שָׁבַע, שָׂדֶה, שָׂחָה (to swim), שָׁחַק, שִׁים, שָׁבַל, שָׂכַר, שָׂמָל, שָׂמַח, שָׁנָא, שָׁק, שָׂרַף, &c. But many words that have ש in BH are regularly spelt in MH with ם, no doubt owing to a change of sound, due probably to Aram. influence, from ש to ם. Thus, the following which have ש in BH are spelt in MH with ם: אָרַם, הָפִיק, הִסְתַּבֵּל, חָרַם, סָב, סָבַר, סָרַר, פָּרַם, עָרַם, סָרַט, סָרַג, סָפַק, סָפִין, סִיד, סָחַט, סָרַר, &c., &c. Sometimes the texts waver: שָׂרַף—סָרַף, 'Or. i. 7; מְעוּשָׂה—מְעוּסָה, Git. ix. 9.

Jerome, however, mentions only the distinction between ם (*samech*) and ש (*sin*). Perhaps his ear was not able to mark the finer distinction between the very similar sounds of ש and ם. He represents these sounds, as well as צ (*sade*) by *s*, owing, no doubt, to the poverty of the Latin alphabet in sibilants. Similarly, LXX transcribes these four sibilants by *σ*.

51. *Transcription from Greek and Latin.*

ם is very common for Gk. σ: סִימֹן σιμών, Dam. ii. 4; אֶסְטָסִים στάσις, San. xii. 5; לִסְטִים ληστής, Pes. iii. 7. With כ and ק for ξ, cf. above, § 44. With פ for ψ, cf. above, § 48.

So also for the Lat. *s*: אֶסְדָּה *essedā*, Ber. iv. 6; בְּסִילִיקִי *basilica*, AZ. i. 7; קִיפָּסָה *capsa*, Kel. xvi. 7.

י represents Gk. ζ: זֹם ζωμός, Pes. iii. 1; אֹרֶז *ὄρυσζα*, Pea viii. 3. But also σ: פְּרוֹנוֹבֹל προσβολή, Šebi. x. 3, 4; פְּרוֹנוֹר *προστάς*, Ab. iv. 16;¹ אֶטְלִין *κατάλυσις*,² Tem. iii. 5. Also, perhaps, ξ: חֲיוֹנָה *ἀξίνη*, Kel. xiv. 2; בְּרוֹז *κήρυξ*, Šeq. v. 1.³

Jerome transcribes י by *z*.

¹ Cf. Krauss, ii, p. 484.

² Also קֶטְלִינָה, 'AZ. 40 b.

³ These are doubtful. בְּרוֹז may be a Semitic word; cf. the Lexicons.

צ represents sometimes Gk. σ: מְרִצִּיף μάρσιπος, Šab. viii. 5; פְּרִצִּיף πρόσωπον, Yeb. xvi. 3; אֶצְטָדִין στάδιον, BQ iv. 4; אֶצְטָלִית στολή, Yo. vii. 1; בְּצוּצָה ἐξώστρα (L. for בְּצוּטָה in Bab. texts, cf. above, § 44), Mid. ii. 5. Also Lat. s in קְצָרָה castra, 'Ar. ix. 6; נָפוּץ (also נָפִוּס) nāpus, Kil. i. 5.

52.

Mutation of Sibilants.

ם and שׁ: פָּבַשׁ to tread, press, and כָּבַשׁ to tread, wash (BH); דָּרַם to tread, Syr. ܕܪܡ.¹

ם and ז: מָוַם and מָסַם (cf. above, § 44).²

ם and ט: קָרַם (§ 45) and קָרַטַם to pluck, lop, Ma'a. iii. 3.

ם and צ: יָרַסַם to crush, 'Uq. ii. 5, BH רָצִין רָצִין rocks, BH סָלַע, Šebi. v. 4; סִיב fibre, 'Uq. iii. 3, and צִיב tassel, Hul. ix. 1.³

צ and ט: קוֹרַט particle, drop, 'AZ. ii. 6, BH. קָרַץ.

6. The Sonants ל, מ, נ, ג.

53. ל represents Gk. λ, Lat. l: לִסְטִים ληστής, Pes. iii. 7; לִבְלָר libellarius, Pea ii. 6. By mutation, also ρ, r: אֶסְכָּלָה ἐσχάρα, Pes. vii. 2; פְּלִהָדִין πάρεδροι, Yo. i. 1; מְרָגְלִית margarita, Ab. vi. 9; מְרָקוּלִים Mercurius, 'AZ. iv. 1.

מ represents Gk. μ, Lat. m: מְרִצִּיף μάρσιπος, Šab. viii. 5; מַפָּה mappa, B'er. viii. 3. מ is sometimes assimilated with the following consonant: לַפְסָן λαμψάνη, Kil. i. 5; קַפְנִדְרִיָּא (via) compendiaria, 'AZ. v. 4.

נ represents Gk. ν, Lat. n: אֶנְטִיגֶנוֹס Ἀντίγονος, Ab. i. 3; נָפוּץ nāpus, Kil. i. 3. It is also found for μ, m before a labial: אֶנְפִּדְרִיָּא ἐμπορία (L. 'אמ'), BM ii. 1; אֶנְפִּלִיָּא impilia, Yeb. xii. 1.

¹ Albrecht's suggestion (§ 4 e) that מְרָדַם may be an artificial form to distinguish it from מְרָדָשׁ Midrash, is altogether improbable. The verb דָּרַם is extremely common in various connotations; cf. Kohut, iii, pp. 156-60.

² Cf. the transcription of Gr. σ (= ם) by ז, above, § 51.

³ Cf. also the transcription of Gr. σ, Lat. s by צ, above, § 51.

ר. The evidence of Jewish tradition and the pointing of the MSS.¹ show that ר was pronounced as a guttural, as in BH, causing the same vowel changes as the regular gutturals. But it was also pronounced as a lingual, as is shown by its mutation with ל, as above, and below § 54.

It represents Gk. ρ, Lat. r: דִּרְקוֹן δράκων, 'AZ. iii. 3; דִּינָר denarius, Ab. vi. 9.

Mutation of the Sonants.

54. ל and ר: הִשְׁתַּדֵּל to strive, Ab. ii. 5, Aram. אֲשַׁמְדֵּר, Dan. vi. 15; שֵׁשֶׁלֶךְ chain, Kel. xiv. 3, BH שִׁשְׁרֶת²; גִּלְעָיָה kernel, 'Uq. ii. 2, Ter. xi. 5; נִתְאַמְלָה = נִתְאַלְמָה = נִתְאַלְמָה (L.) to be widowed, Kēt. ii. 1.

מ and נ: רִיקוֹן empty, Pes. v. 6, BH רִיקָם; הֵן for הֵם; the plural ending יִן for יִם; the pronominal suffix for the 3rd masc. pl. ך for ם. (Cf. below, §§ 70, 281.)

7. Semi-vowels ו, י.

55. ו. While still retaining its semi-vocal character, ו appears to have been hardened into a real consonant. Hence, it is more frequent in MH as an initial letter than in BH. Thus, וִידוּי confession, San. vi. 7; וְדָאִי certain, Yo. viii. 8; וָלָד child (BH), Mš. iii. 9; וְעָר assembly, Ab. i. 4; וָסֶת habit, Nid. i. 1; וְרִיר jugular vein, Hul. ii. 4; וְתִיק active, Ber. 9 b. In verbs: וְיִתֵּר to be plentiful, San. xi. 5, &c. (Cf. below, § 168.)

The consonantal character of ו is also shown by its mutation with soft ב (בּ), cf. below, § 57.

In transcriptions the ו sometimes represents Lat. v: וִילוֹן Velum, Neg. xi. 11. Perhaps also the Aeolic Digamma: וָסֶת εῖθος, Nid. i. 1;

¹ e.g. עִירָה, L., 'AZ. v. 10.

² These may, however, belong to two different roots: שָׁלַל = שָׁלַח to draw, and שָׁרַר to be firm, hence שִׁרְוֹת rings, Isa. iii. 19; Šab. v. 1.

אָוִיר *ἀήρ*, Šab. xi. 3. ו is also found in the place of the Hiatus: אֶסְטָוּהָ ¹ *στοά*, Pes. i. 5.

Jerome renders ו by *u*.

56. י seems to have been pronounced very much like א (*spiritus lenis*). This explains its frequent mutation with א. However, it never transcribes a Greek or Latin initial vowel, for which א is used, cf. above, § 42. But י is regularly used to represent the first of the two vowels in the Hiatus: אֶנְפֹּרִיא *ἐμπορία*, BM ii. 1; אֶפְסֹנִיא *ὠψωνία*, San. ii. 4; קִיבִיא *κυβεία*, iii. 3; פִּלִּיטֹן *foliatum*, Šab. vi. 3; אוֹלִירִין *olearius*, Toh. vii. 8; פִּנְדִּירִין *dupondius*, Pea viii. 7.

Jerome transcribes י by *i*.

57. When consonants, ו, י are often written twice, to prevent their being mistaken for vowel letters: וּוֹרֵר *rose*, Šebi. vii. 6; תְּתַבֵּנוּ to intend, Ter. iv. 4; פִּרְרוּר outskirts, Hal. iv. 11; תַּיִט tailor, Šab. i. 3; נִייר paper, viii. 2. So in Pal. texts: בְּנִי, Kel. xiv. 3; גִּוְבִי, Ber. vi. 3; כְּרִי worthy, i. 7, for בְּנֵאִי, גִּוְבֵאִי, כְּרֵאִי, cf. above, § 38, foot-note.

Mutations.

58. ו and ב : נֹלֵל disfigure, So. i. 7, BH נָבַל; עֲנֹהָ *barley crop*, Pea. vii. 7 (L. עֲנָה), i. 2, cf. BH עָנָב ²; לֹלֵב *Lulab* = לָלֵב = לָלֵב to sprout; פִּרְרוּ outskirts, BH פִּרְבֵּר ³.

י and א : מְבוֹא, BH מְבוֹא, entrance, alley, 'Er. i. 1; שְׂיִיר, BH שְׂאָר, remainder, Zeb. v. 1; נֹי beauty, 'AZ. iii. 4, for נֹא, from נָאָה. Cf. also the textual variants: הוֹדָאָה and הוֹדָיָה thanksgiving, Ber. ix. 4; חֲצִאי from חֲצִי half, 'Ed. iii. 1; בִּלְאוֹת and בִּלְיוֹת old garments, Yeb. ix. 3, from בָּלִי, &c. Cf. also the interchange between the third radical of the verbs ל"א and ל"ה ⁴.

¹ So L. and some other texts. Others, again, especially Bab. texts, have אֶסְטָבָה, אֶצְטָבָה. Cf. Kohut, i, pp. 166 f. Also סְטִיִּין or סְטִיִּין, Suk. 51 b.

² Cf. the commentaries, especially Maimonides, ad. loc.

³ Cf. אֶסְטָוּהָ—אֶסְטָבָה, above, § 55 note, and בִּיבִרִין—*vivarium*, above, § 48.

⁴ However, this interchange between י and א, never occurs, as in Aram., at the beginning of a word; cf. Dalman, pp. 97–8.

8. The Letters ב, ג, ד, כ, פ, ת.

59. The BH distinction between the hard and the soft sounds of these letters (*dagesh* and *raphe*) existed also in MH. This is proved by many considerations. Thus, all the various Jewish systems of pronunciation have preserved this distinction. It is also supported by the transcriptions of Greek and Latin words, and by the sound mutations in MH.

Thus, ב represents β , b ($= \text{ב}$), and also v , v ($= \text{ב}$), § 47. It interchanges with ו ($= \text{ב}$), § 57.

ג interchanges with ק $= \text{ג}$, § 44, and also with ח ($= \text{ג}$), § 42.

ד represents δ , d , and also τ , § 45. It interchanges with ט ($= \text{ד}$), and also with ז ($= \text{ד}$), § 46.

כ represents κ , c ($= \text{כ}$), and also χ , ch ($= \text{כ}$), § 43. It interchanges with ק ($= \text{כ}$), and also with ח ($= \text{כ}$), §§ 44, 42.

פ represents π , p ($= \text{פ}$), and also ϕ , f ($= \text{פ}$), § 47.

ת represents θ , th ($= \text{ת}$), § 45. It interchanges with ט ($= \text{ת}$), § 46.

60. The difference in the *dagesh* and *raphe* sounds was not, however, so marked as in some of the modern Jewish pronunciations. This is proved by the dictum in a late Baraita (Ber. 15 b), that in reading the Šema' (Singer, pp. 40 f.) a pause must be introduced between the enunciation of עֶשְׂבֵּי and the following בְּשִׁרְךָ (Deut. xi. 5), between הַכֶּנֶף and פְּתִיל (Num. xv. 38), so as not to produce an assimilation of the final letters of one word with the initial letters of the following word (שִׁיתָן רִיחַ בֵּין הַדְּבָקִים).

9. Other Consonantal Changes.

61. Transposition (*Metathesis*). זָרַק to fling (זָקַרְוּ), Yo. 38 b = זָרַק; זָלַב to insult, Yo. 23 a = לָעַב, j. So. 19 a, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 16 (Hiph'il); מַלְגָּא large fork, Šab. 92 b, t. ib. ix. 10¹ = מַלְגָּא; מְרוּבֵּי spout, BB iii. 8, from רָוַב = זָרַב (= זֵיב) to flow²; עָמַץ to close the eyes, Šab.

¹ שְׁנַיִם אוֹחוֹן בְּמַלְגָּא וְלוֹחוֹן. So in the Mishna in Bab. Talmud, Šab. 122 b (xvii. 1).

² Cf. זָרַבָּה, a flowing, j. San. xi. 7. See Kohut, iii, p. 319, and BDB., p. 279.

xxiii. 5 = עָצַם ; קָטַרַג to accuse, j. Šab. 5 b, from קָטַיגור (= κατήγορος), Ab. iv. 11. Perhaps also רָמַז to wink, Git. v. 7, רָזַם (Job xv. 12). Probably also הָרַי aspect, nature of a case, BQ i. 1 = רָאִי = רָאִי, BQ 4 a, &c.¹

62. Rejection. (a) *Aphaeresis*. In addition to the rejection of initial weak consonants when without vowels in verbs פ"י, פ"נ, &c., as in BH (cf. below, §§ 165, 169; Ges.-K., § 19 h), MH shows aphaeresis also in a few other cases, viz. with the gutturals ה, ע, ח, א (as preformatives), and preformative מ:

בָּיִם brother-in-law, San. iii. 4 = אָנִים, as in L. and j. ib. iii. 7; לֵעָזָר, in Pal. texts, for אֱלֵיעָזָר.

ח: פִּיר a pit, Ket. 79 b, Ned. 89 b = חָפִיר; מַטְשִׁיפָה mat, Makš. v. 8 = חָשִׁיפָה²; סָחֹם = חָסָחֹם cartilage, Bek. vi. 1 (cf. L.).

ע: עֲשִׂינִית cliff, Oh. xviii. 6 = עֲשִׂינִית, Mekil. on Exod. xv. 5.³

ה: חָפַרְתָּ cutting off = חָפַרְתָּ (cf. below, § 115).

מ: מְמוֹעֵט small = מְמוֹעֵט; מְחִיתָךְ cut off = מְחִיתָךְ (cf. § 129).

Further, לִידָה birth, Ket. iv. 3 = יְלִידָה (cf. below, § 228). קִיחָה leather thong, Kel. xvi. 4; taking, Qid. 2 a = לְקִיחָה (cf. below, § 228).

63. (b) Syncope. MH shows the same cases of elision of a consonant in the middle of a word, as appear in BH (Ges.-K. § 19 k). In addition syncope takes place in a number of compounds, e.g. אֶלְמָלֵא if not = לֵא + אֵל + מָלֵא, Ab. iii. 2; its equivalent in Pal. texts: אֶלְמָלֵא = לֵא + מָלֵא; אֶלְמָלֵא (or אֶלְמָלֵא) = לֵא + מָלֵא; אֶלְמָלֵא how

¹ הָרַי cannot be a contraction of הָרָאִי (Levy i. 493 b), since it is in the construct state. Bacher's view (*Aelteste Terminologie*, pp. 46-8), that הָרַי is an interjection (= הָרַי) is improbable. הָרַי is synonymous with רָאִי. The two expressions are used in different types of texts with exactly the same significance.

² דִּנָּת = חֲדָתָה cistern, cited by Albrecht (§ 9 a), rests upon a scribal error. With two exceptions (t. Oh. xii. 6), it is always חֲדָתָה (also in plur. חֲדָתָתָה t. BB iii. 1), and should be חֲדָתָה = חֲדָתָה, as in Syr. and Arab.; cf. Kohut, iii. 32.

³ Cf. the comment of Weiss, ad loc. (p. 46), and also Kohut, viii, p. 116 f.

= $\text{צַר} + \text{וְהָ} + \text{בָּאִי}$, as often written in the Halakic Midrashim: בָּלָהַךְ get away = $\text{בָּלָהַךְ} + \text{וְלָהַךְ}$, t. Ter. i. 1; San. 67 b (cf. Rashi, ad loc.); עַכְשָׁיו now, 'AZ. i. 1, a compound of uncertain composition (cf. below, § 296); the elision of א in אֲנִי , when joined as an enclitic, especially to participles, e.g. הִרְיֵנִי behold I = $\text{הָרִי} + \text{אֲנִי}$; חֹשֶׁשְׁנִי I fear me, $\text{חֹשֶׁשׁ} + \text{אֲנִי}$ (cf. below, § 341, and foot-note).

Further examples of syncope of א are found in $\text{יִשְׁבָּאָב} = \text{יִשְׁבָּב}$, as in L. and BH, H_{ul}. ii. 4, and in the popular $\text{זִיָּה} = \text{זִאָה}$ she wolf, j. Šeq. v. 1.

64. (c) Apocope. The rejection of a final letter is found in אִי not = אִי , before words beginning with א ; so $\text{כִּי} = \text{כֵּן}$ (cf. below, § 298); $\text{אִי} = \text{אִם}$ if. Probably also הַלֵּה that one = הֵלֹ (cf. below, § 73). In proper names, יוֹסִי (or Pal. יוֹסָה) = יוֹסֵף , Ab. i. 41; $\text{שְׂמַעְיָה} = \text{שְׂמַעִי}$, ib. i. 10.¹

For elision of consonants in foreign words, cf. Krauss, LW i. §§ 214 ff.; Albrecht, § 9 b.

65. Augmentation. As in BH, an א is sometimes prefixed to a word: אֶגְדָּל thumb, Yo. ii. 1 = גְּדָל (L., cf. גִּדְלִי רִגְלִיו , Šab. 151 b); אֶנֶף wing, Neg. xiv. 1 = נֶפֶף (cf. BH); אֶכְרוֹב cabbage, 'Or. iii. 7. 'Uq. ii. 7 (L., and elsewhere in Pal. texts) = כְּרוֹב , Ter. x. 11.

The prosthetic א is especially frequent in the transcription of foreign words beginning with two or more consonants: $\text{אֶסְטָסִיס} = \text{στάσις}$, San. xii. 5; $\text{אֶסְפְּלִינִית} = \text{σπληνίον}$, Šab. xix. 2; $\text{אֶכְסֵנִיָּא} = \text{ξένος}$, Dam. iii. 1; $\text{אֶסְקוּטָלָא} = \text{scutella}$, MQ iii. 7. So also before one consonant: $\text{אֶלְפָּס} = \text{λοπάς}$, Šab. iii. 5; $\text{אֶפּוֹנְדָה} = \text{funda}$, ib. x. 3. Cf. Krauss, §§ 261 ff.; Albrecht, § 10.

Insertion of ר : חֶרְטִים beak, T_{oh}. i. 2 = חֹטֶם nose, Kel. xxvi. 4 (cf. below, § 274), and in the formation of Quadriliterals, below § 107.

66. Softening of a sound, owing to dissimilation, is found in $\text{לֹאֵב} = \text{לֶבֶלָב}$ (cf. above, § 58); שְׁפּוֹפֶרֶת tube, Šab. ii. 4 = שְׁפָרְפֶרֶת (cf. below, § 245).

¹ Cf. BH, 1 Chr. ii. 28, &c. So יֵשׁוּעַ , Jesus, for יֵשׁוּעַ . Cf. J. Klausner, *ישו הנוצרי*, p. 237. These forms are, probably, caritatives.

PART II

MORPHOLOGY

I. THE PRONOUN

1. The Personal Pronoun.

67. (1) The 1st pers. sing. is אֲנִי. אֲנִי is found only in quotations from the Bible, or in direct allusions to Biblical passages.¹

The disuse of אֲנִי dates already from BH times. Thus אַנְכִי is not found in the later or popular BH books, like Canticles, Lamentations, Haggai, Zachariah i-viii, Ezra, Esther, and Qohelet; and only once in Ezekiel, Daniel, Nehemiah, and Chronicles.² So also Aram. (with the exception of the Zinjirli dialect),³ Arabic and Ethiopic have forms corresponding to אֲנִי only, while Assyrian, Moabite, and Phoenician use forms corresponding to אַנְכִי only. In earlier Hebrew alone are the two forms found existing side by side, but אֲנִי, being the shorter of the two, gradually came to be employed more frequently, especially in colloquial speech, until the longer form disappeared entirely from common use.

68. The plural is always אֲנִי.⁴ This form occurs, as is well

¹ e.g. San. vi. 2; Šab. 105 a.

² Cf. *BDB.*, p. 59 and reff.

³ Cf. G. A. Cooke, *N. Sem. Inscr.*, Nos. 61, l. 1, אַנְך; 62, l. 19, אַנְכִי; but 63, l. 20, אֲנִי. For the origin and mutual relation of אֲנִי and אַנְכִי cf. Stade, *Heb. Gr.*, p. 135, and Barth, *Pronominalbildung*, pp. 3-4.

⁴ אֲנִי occurs in the early portions of the Liturgy, cf. S. Singer, *The Authorized Daily Prayer Book*, pp. 4, 51, &c. So in Ps. x. 5, but L. has אֲנִי. אֲנִי is also found exceptionally in an ordinary passage, K^t. x. 2, but here also L. has אֲנִי.

known, only once in BH, and then only in the Ketib (Jer. xlii. 6). which is rather remarkable, since the Ketib generally represents a more archaic type of language. אָנִי seems to be a popular formation from אֲנִי, on the analogy of the plural forms of the pronominal suffixes קִטְלָנוּ, קִטְלָנִי, or of מִמֶּנִּי, מִמֶּנִּי; cf. also the verbal plurals יִקְטְלוּ, קִטְלֵנוּ, &c. From the colloquial language the form crept into the Book of Jeremiah, but was struck out by the Massoretes as a vulgarism.

All other Semitic languages have forms corresponding to אֲנִי. So especially the Aram. dialects, אֲנַחְנָא, נַחְנָא, and in the latest and most debased dialects אֲנִי, with the syncope of the inaudible guttural.¹

69. (2) In the 2nd pers. אַתָּה is used for the masc., and אַתְּ for the fem., as in BH. אַתָּה for the masc. is exceedingly rare in the earlier MH literature, and may always be due to scribal errors. It is, however, frequent in texts of a later date, particularly of Palestinian origin, and in the Haggadic Midrashim. This use must be considered an Aramaism.

The plural is אַתֶּם for the masc. Of the fem. plural, אַתְּנָא, no example occurs in our literature. The form אַתֶּם is also found for the fem.: t. BB viii. 19: נִינְתֶם אַתֶּם . . . נִשְׁאֲתֶם אַתֶּם.

70. (3) The 3rd pers. has הוּא for the masc., and הִיא for the fem. The plur. is הֵם, הֵן respectively. הֵמָּה is found only in Biblical quotations (Ab. vi. 2).

The forms אַתָּן for the 2nd masc. plur., and especially הֵן for the 3rd masc. plur., are also found, but they are merely due to a phonetic change common in MH (cf. above, § 54). They may, however, be also due to the influence of Aram., in which these pronouns end in ך.

¹ Barth (op. cit., p. 6(e)), holds that אֲנִי is formed from אֲנַחְנָא by the addition of the plur. suff. ך, like אֲנוּ from אֲנִי.

2. The Demonstrative Pronoun.

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This form הָלוּ is further shortened to הָלָה by the apocope of ו.¹ It is only used substantivally, MŠ. iii. 2; San. viii 2, &c. In Yeb. iii. 5, 'Ed. iv. 9, הָלָה stands also for the fem. תַּצֵּא מִשּׁוּם וְהָלָה תֵּצֵא מִשּׁוּם and that one goes forth² as a wife's sister.

The plur. of הָלוּ, הָלָה is הָלָלוּ, evidently a contraction of הָל + אָלוּ; these defects, Ket. vii. 8, and frequently.

75. (4) The emphatic particle אֵת is also used as a demonstrative, either alone or with pronominal suffixes, e. g. אֵת שֶׁלִּפְנֵי הַמָּטָה וְאֵת שֶׁלְאַחֲרֵי הַמָּטָה those before the bier and those behind the bier, Ber. iii. 1; אֵת הַלֶּחֶם וְאֵת הַחֶלֶה וְאֵת הַסֶּדֶר that loaf and that order, Men. ii. 2.

76. (5) *The Article*. In the form and use of the Article, MH agrees with BH. See further in the Syntax (§§ 373-78).

3. The Relative Pronoun.

77. The relative is in MH everywhere אֲשֶׁר. אֲשֶׁר occurs only in quotations (Pe. ii. 2 from Isa. vii. 25; So. ix. 5 from Deut. xxi. 3, &c.), and in early liturgical language, which is conceived in an elevated and semi-Biblical strain; thus, in the Passover Haggadah, אֲשֶׁר גָּאֲלָנוּ, Pes. x. 61; in the Evening Service, אֲשֶׁר בִּדְבָרוֹ (Singer, p. 96); and often in Benedictions, אֲשֶׁר קִדְּשָׁנוּ (ib. pp. 4, 134, 210, &c.); אֲשֶׁר נָתַן (pp. 5, 68); אֲשֶׁר יָצַר (pp. 4, 299); אֲשֶׁר בָּרָא (pp. 280, 299); and a few more. Elsewhere אֲשֶׁ is used: אֲשֶׁ בָּבֶל (p. 51), אֲשֶׁ יִדְרְעָנוּ (p. 239), and in Benedictions, Ber. vi. 3; vii. 3; ix. 1 ff.; Singer, pp. 5 f., 276, 290, 291, &c.

78. In BH the form occurs twice in the Song of Deborah (שֶׁמֶמְתִּי), a North Israelitish production; three times in the story of Gideon, a North Israelitish hero; once in the North Israelitish

¹ Cf. above, § 64. Barth, however, holds that הָלָה is the original form which was later strengthened by the addition of וָה, op. cit., pp. 78, 105 f.

² i. e. הִחְיָצָה, Deut. xxv. 5. L. has וְהָלָה. So 'Ar. ix. 4 edd. have הָלָה, but L. has הָלוּ.

section of the Book of Kings; exclusively, except in the late superscription, in the collection of popular songs known as Canticles, which probably originated in Northern Israel; sporadically in the later BH books, and very frequently in Qohelet (cf. Ges.-K., § 36). Now, whatever the relation of the two forms to each other,¹ there can be no doubt that שׁ is as old as אֲשֶׁר, if not older. Its confinement in the earlier books of the Bible to North Israelitish documents would prove that its use must have been common in the colloquial speech of Northern Palestine, under the influence, to some extent at least, of the Phoenician אש,² ש, the Assyrian ša, and, perhaps, also the Aram. וי, די. The scarcity of its occurrence even in these documents must be explained by the assumption that it was regarded as a vulgarism which the literary language had to avoid. Its use gradually extended to Southern Palestine, and being the shorter and more pliable form, it must in the course of time have entirely supplanted the longer אֲשֶׁר in the language of the common people, and from this it descended directly to MH. But the literary prejudice against it seems to have remained even after BH had ceased to be a living speech. Hence its non-occurrence in Esther, its scarcity in Chronicles, and the anxiety to avoid it which is displayed by a studious imitator of the ancients like Sirach, and even by such an independent mind as the author of Qohelet.³

4. The Possessive Pronoun.

79. Possession is very frequently expressed in MH by the combination of the relative שׁ with the preposition לִּ. In older texts this combination is still attached to the noun which it governs,

¹ Cf. Barth, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-4; Bergsträsser, *ZAW.*, xix, pp. 41 ff.

² Cf. Schröder, *Phœniz. Sprache*, § 65 and foot-note.

³ Note such awkward and inconsistent expressions as בְּשֵׁל אֲשֶׁר יַעֲמֹל (= Aram. . . . בְּדִיל דִּי, viii. 17; מִבְּלִי אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִמָּצֵא, iii. 11, &c.

e.g. שְׁלֹבְחִין, Zeb. v. 1.¹ Gradually שֶׁל- was detached from the noun by the scribes, and now appears as an independent particle שֶׁל. So especially with pronominal suffixes שְׁלִי, שְׁלֶךְ, &c., which have become regular possessive pronouns. Cf. Ab. v. 10; BM i. 5, &c. See further in the Syntax, §§ 406-9.

5. The Interrogative Pronoun.

80. (1) מִי, מָה, as in BH.

(2) By prefixing the interrogative particle אֵי to the demonstrative זֶה, זֹה, a new interrogative pronoun has been formed, אֵיזֶה, fem. אֵיזוֹ which? This is often strengthened by the enclitic הִיא, הוּא, with which it is often written as one word, and the final א omitted: אֵיזֶהוּ, Zeb. v. 1; אֵיזוֹהִי, Kel. xvii. 6. In the older texts, however, the three components are still kept separate: אֵי זֶה הוּא, cf. L., loc. cit.

Prepositions are attached to אֵי: בְּאֵיזֶה, San. v. 1; מֵאֵיזֶה, Ab. vi. 9. Contrast BH אֵי מָה, 2 Sam. xv. 2, Jonah i. 8; אֵי לָזֶאת, Jer. v. 2.

81. The plural of אֵיזֶה, אֵיזוֹ is אֵי אֵלֵי, which is found only once in MH literature, viz. Naz. 6 b (אֵי אֵלֵי הֵן יָמִים . . .). Elsewhere it is contracted to אֵילֵי, spelt אֵלֵי through the ignorance of the scribes, who confused it with the demonstr. plur. אֵלֵי.² This confusion may account for the scarcity of this form in our literature. Perhaps the Rabbis, who had a passion for lucidity and precision, deliberately avoided it for fear of this confusion with the demonstr.

Exx.: חַיִּיב לְהַכְרִיז (L. ואֵילוֹ) אֵלֵי מַצִּיאוֹת שְׁלֹו וְאֵלֵי Which things when found are his [the finder's], and which is he bound to proclaim?³ BM ii. 1; וְרוֹאִים אֵלֵי הָאֲבָנִים הָרְאוּיוֹת לְהַשְׁתַּבֵּר They

¹ Cf. Krauss, *MGWJ*, li, p. 56.

² This confusion is found even in modern scholars, e.g. Albrecht, § 30 a.

³ Cf. the parallel expressions: . . . אֵיזֶהוּ גִשָּׁה? אֵיזֶהוּ תַרְבִּית? אֵיזֶהוּ גִשָּׁה, ib. v. 1; אֵיזֶהוּ תַם וְאֵיזֶהוּ מוֹעֵד? אֵיזֶהוּ תַם, BQ ii. 4, &c. So, perhaps, also elsewhere,

consider which are the stones that are likely to have been broken, ib. x. 1; **טַעָה וְאִין יָדַע אֵלֹו שֶׁהָפְכוּ וְאֵלֹו שֶׁקָּדְמוּ** If he made a mistake and it is not known which had changed and which had advanced? t. Neg. ii. 7; **בְּאֵלֹו מִשְׁקִין אָמְרוּ** In the case of which fluids have they said it? Makš. iii. 2;¹ **בְּאֵילֹו נְדָרִים אָמְרוּ** In the case of which vows have they said it? t. Ket. vii. 8 || Ket. 72 b; **בְּאֵילֹו בְּנֵי מִיעֵים** In the case of which intestines have they said it? t. Hul. iii. 15 || Hul. 56 b; **בְּאֵילֹו פָּנִים בָּאִים לְפָנֵי הַמָּקוֹם** With what face will they come before the Almighty? Pesiqta, § 25; **עַל אֵלֹו עֲמָרִים נִחְלָקוּ** Over which sheaves did they dispute? t. Pe. iii. 2. So probably also **עַל אֵלֹו מוּמִים שׁוֹחֲטִין אֶת הַבְּכוֹר** Over which blemishes may one slay the first-born animal? Bek. vi. 1; **לְאֵילֹו נֶאֱמַן** Whom shall we believe? Pesiqta Rab., p. 138 b.

82. We can trace clearly in BH the development of this new interrogative. In **אֵי זֶה בֵּית הָרָאָה**, 1 Sam. ix. 18, the emphasis is on **אֵי** (= **אֵינָה**), while **זֶה** serves merely as an enclitic particle to give directness to the question, and the proper answer to the question would be **כֹּה בֵּית הָרָאָה**, or **הִנֵּה**. Gradually, however, the emphasis was shifted from **אֵי** to **זֶה**, as in **אֵי זֶה הַדֶּרֶךְ נֵעֲלָה**, 2 Kings iii. 8, Which way shall we go up?, as is shown by the answer, **הַדֶּרֶךְ מִדְּבַר אֲדוֹם**, 2 Chron. xviii. 23. These two usages existed side by side, until, finally, the older usage disappeared, and **אֵי** ceased to be an interrogative of place, and became a pure interrogative pronoun or adjective. So in Qoh. ii. 3, and, especially, in xi. 6, where it stands before a verb, **אֵי זֶה יִכְשֹׁר**, and is used exactly as in MH.²

e.g. Pea i. 1; BB. iii. 7. The interrogative style is exceedingly common in MH.

¹ Cf. the parallel expression : **בְּאֵיזֶה מְקוֹמָהּ אָמְרוּ ?**, Oh. ii. 3, &c.

² See further the writer's remarks, *JQR.*, xx (1908), p. 661 f.

87. (5) BH Verbs used in MH in cognate roots only: יעף = סוד, נכה—נכא; רקק—ירק; ירה—ירא; קוץ—יקץ; נפח—יפח, עיף, טען—צען; פקק—פוק; יעץ—עוץ; עפש—עבש; (סִיג) סוג—שוך; תקן—תכן; תלה—תלא; רום—רמם; רמז—רזם; נקר—קור.

88. (6) The following is a list, by no means exhaustive, of the equivalents used in MH for older BH verbs: יאב, חפץ, אבה; בא—אתה; חזק—אמן; למד—אלף; שנא—אב; רצה—הואיל; גער, פחד, ירא—גור, יגר; חתך—בתך, בחר; גזל—שסה, חמס, בזו; זרם; כעס—קצף, זעף, זעם; לגלג, לעג—תלל, התל; נזף—כהה; כבד—טאטא; יבש—נתש, חרב; נהג—יבל; בטח—עוז, חסה; שטף; יצג; התגיייר—התיהר; נתן—יהב; התחיל—החל; שתק—החריש; נגש; מרד—מרה; הוחלק—מער; כסה—לאט, לוט; העמיד—נצב; סגר, מסר—ספר, נפר; נפרע—נקם; נהג—נחה; בא אצל, קרב, חכה; משכן—ערב, עבט; שומה—סכל; גרר—סחב; השתחוה—קדר; עשה—פעל; פגע—קרה, פגש; שמח—גיל, עלם, עלו; המתן—קוה; משל, שוה; כחש—רוה; עני—דלל, ריש; הרג—קטל; התענה—צום; דין—פלל, שפט; דמה.

89. Of the 300 new verbs in MH, only a very small proportion are loan words from Aram. The majority are old Hebrew expressions which occur in BH either in cognate verbal roots, or in derivatives, usually substantives. A further large number of these new verbs are real denominatives which are consciously formed by MH from nouns found in BH. Of the residue which cannot be traced to BH sources, a very large proportion belong to the original stock of the old Hebrew vocabulary, which by mere accident have not been preserved in the scanty and fragmentary remains of BH literature. Some of these are found also in Aram. and in other Semitic languages, and are thus of a general Semitic character. Others are found in MH and in Aram. only, and are, probably, at least in most cases, as original in MH as in Aram. Others, again, are peculiar to MH, or may be also found in other Semitic languages, but not in Aram. The remainder (about thirty verbs) are direct borrowings from Aram., and a few more are derived from Greek.

It will, therefore, be seen that the Aram. influence on the lexical character of the MH verb is far less extensive than has been

We give in what follows a classified list of the new verbs in MH.¹

90. (1) MH verbs, found in BH in a different form.

(δ) With mutation of sound: חזם—זחם²; זבל—בגר; נבל—גל; ירד—מרד; מלך—מלג; מכה—מהה; טבע—טמע; גזם—עקב; עקב—עקב; חוג—עוג; שתר—סתר (?); שים—סיים; נשל—נשר; פשר—פקע; פקע—פכח; עקל—עקם; עבש—עפש; עשק—עסק; גרד—קרד; כפל—קפל; קמט—קמע; קמץ—קמו; קצע—קטע; פתר—נתש³—תשש; נפח—תפח; ריקם—ריקן.

91. (2) MH verbs found in BH in derivatives: אחה, אגר, (ובלות BH) knead (גבל BH), (גבים BH &c.) גבה, גבב, בשם, בור, בהק, דרג, גנו. (גף BH) גפף, (גם BH) גמם, גרש, (גדילים) twist גדל, גבש, bore חרר, חרר, חפף, heap חמר, חלד, חדק, זלג, זוז, הבהב, (מתנים) מתן, מרא, כרך, (כפתור ?) כפת, כמן, כבל, ירק, יהר, חשר, עטן, עגל, (= שרק) סרק, סרב, look סכה, סדר, סגל, נקד, נסר, נגב, צנן, צמם, ציץ, dye צבע, פרך, פרז, פחת, knead ערם, mix ערב, שפע, שחף, שחן, שגר, רתת, רטט, רהט, קרש, קלט, קלח, צרך.

² Of heathen sacrifices, probably an artificial change in a contemptuous sense as mere **זבל** dung. Cf. Kohut, iii, p. 265, and reff. to Tosaphot on 'AZ. 18 b

³ Cf. further in the Phonology above, §§ 43, 45 ff.

⁴ Cf. above, § 61.

(8) Verbs borrowed from Greek: ¹ לטטס ληστης, ספג σπόγγος, פקס φυκόω, פרף πόρπη, קטר κατηγορέω, קמר καμάριον, תרם θυρέος. The following are doubtful: וויו (from זיו) ζοῦγος, פקר (from אפיקורוס) Ἐπίκουρος, קלם καλῶς, קנס κῆνσος.

98. A large number of verbs which MH has inherited from BH., have undergone certain changes in usage and meaning. Thus, many verbs which were common in BH have become rare in MH. Most of these belong to the elevated diction of BH literature. But a considerable number are quite ordinary prosaic expressions which for some reason or other went out of ordinary use in MH. Again, a number of verbs which were rare in BH have become very common in MH. Many of these will be found to belong also to the Aram. vocabulary. Finally, many verbs have developed in MH a new significance, sometimes analogous to their usage in Aram., sometimes of a technical or legal character. Often this new significance is expressed by a new verbal stem not found in BH (cf. below, §§ 108 ff.). A small group of verbs is of special interest. These have preserved in MH their primary significance, while in BH they only occur in a derived and secondary sense.

99. (1) Verbs more common in BH than in MH: אָטם, (צעק =) זעק, זוכ, הרס, המם, חמה, חדר, הגה, בחר, בהל, ארב

¹ Cf. Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, i, pp. 144-52. His etymologies, which are not always reliable, should be checked by Kohut and, especially, by Jastrow.

קרסם, קצה, קפץ, קפד, קנה, קמץ, קלם, קלל, קרש, קדם, קרח, קבל, רקם, רקד, רצה, רעם, רכס, רחם, רווח, רגש, רגל, רבץ, ראה, קשה; תקן, תנה, שקע, שפה, שער, שנה, שמן, שמד, שלש, שלל, שבר, שבה.

102. (4) Verbs with the primary meaning in MH and a secondary meaning in BH.

כסף BH long, MH grow pale; מהל BH mix, MH circumcise; עין BH look with envy, MH look intently; סלר BH spring back, MH be scalded; סמר BH bristle up with fear, MH stud with nails; פלט BH escape, MH discharge, spit out; פצע BH bruise, MH split; פקח BH open the eye, MH open up; פרר BH frustrate, annul, MH break, crumble; פשק BH part, open wide, MH split, cut; צנע BH be modest, MH hide, retire; cf. also בצע, געל, דלק.

2. GRAMMATICAL

103. The differences between the BH verb and the MH verb are as marked on the grammatical side as on the lexical side. Many verbs in MH show a loss of verbal stems found in BH. Thus, the Qal has been lost in most verbs of an intransitive character, especially in the Babylonian dialect of MH. Of the Pu'al only the participle has been preserved as a living form. Formations that are rare in BH, like the Po'el, Pol'el, and their derivative stems, have either disappeared entirely, or survived in only a few verbs. The common and regular stems have disappeared in those verbs in which their occurrence was rare in BH.

Against these losses, MH can, however, show some important gains. It has increased its quadrilateral formations, often, no doubt, under Aram. influence, either by reduplication, Pi'el, Pilpel, &c., or by augmentation, Šaf'el, Pir'el, &c. Further, MH has extended the use of Pi'el to ע"ו verbs, again often under Aram. influence. Finally, MH has applied the common and regular stems to many verbs in which these stems were lacking in BH.

104. In the field of syntax, MH has lost many constructions which imparted much beauty and distinction to BH, such as the use of the cohortative and jussive, and of the consecutive tenses; the manifold applications of the perfect and imperfect; the variety of constructions with the infinitive, &c. On the other hand, MH has developed and extended constructions which were rare or unknown in BH, e. g. the \bar{r} ise of a present tense in the participle; its use with the auxiliary verb הָיָה; the combination of two verbs to express continuous and progressive action (cf. below, §§ 464-5), and the periphrasis of the future with עָתִיד.

For these syntactical changes in MH the reader is referred to the Third Part of this work (§§ 306 ff.). On the Pu'al, cf. below, §§ 125-30. Here we append tables showing the changes which the verb has undergone in MH in regard to stem formation.

(A) *BH. Stems not found in MH.*

105. (1) Formations that are rare in BH.

Po'el in the following verbs: דָּמַם, הִגָּה, הִלֵּל, הִרָה, חָנַן, חָקַק, יָדַע, יָרַע, חָקַק, חָנַן, הִרָה, הִלֵּל, הִגָּה, דָּמַם, יָרַע, יָדַע, עָלַל, סָבַב, נָדַד, מָדַד, לָשַׁן, יָעַר.

Po'el: בּוֹשׁ, לִיץ, מוֹת, נוֹם, נוֹף, צוֹד, סוֹר.

Po'al: רוֹע, רוֹם, עוֹל, חוֹל.

Pi'el: (נִאֲוָה) נִאָּה, צִמַּח.

Po'al'al: יָפַח, חָמַר.

Tiph'el: רָגַל.

Hithpo'el: נָדַד, נִאָּץ, מָדַד, הִלֵּל, גָּלַל, בָּלַל, אָנַן.

Hithpo'el: רוֹע, עוֹף, עוֹד, נוֹם, מוֹל, חוֹל, גוֹר, בּוֹשׁ.

Hithpalpel: חוֹל.

Hothpa'el: פָּקַד, כָּבַם, טָמֵא, דָּשַׁן.

106. (2) Regular stems of rare occurrence in BH in particular verbs:

Qal: נִאָּץ, מָסַם, יָדָה, חָרַךְ, חָזַר, חָבַב, דָּגַל, דָּבַר, בָּרַח, אָמַן, אָשַׁב, שָׁאָר, רָנַן, קָרַם, קָשַׁב, צָפָה, עָתַק, סָעַר, סָמַר, נוֹף.

Niph'al: נסע, נכה, נגע, מטט, לבט, זוח, דכא, דוש, דגל, גרש, ברך, פשע, פוג, עגן, סער.

Pi'el: נגע, כתב, ידע, ידה, הרס, גרע, ברה, ברא, בעת, אסף, אחז, רתח, קפד, קהה, עתד, נכה.

Pu'al: ידע, חקה, חטב, חבל, זנה, הרה, הרג, דעך, גשם, אסר, אסף, רדף, עשק, נקר, כתת, יצר.

Hithpa'el: מכר, חקה, גרד, באש, אמר.

Hiph'il: כפש, כזב, חתם, חלם, חבר, גשם, גמא, אמר, אטם, אבל, שבר, רדף, צרח, צעק, אמד, עצב, עדה, נפח, נאץ, מלט, כתת.

Hoph'al: מכך, כתת, כשל, יצר, טבע, זון, הפך, דוש, דבק, בקע, אחז, נוה, עלה, נחק.

107. (3) Qal of the following intransitive verbs. This is usually expressed in MH by the corresponding adjective with היה, e.g. טמא היה חולה, or in some cases by the Internal Hiph'il, האדים, הודקן, התגאה, התאבל, or by the Hithpa'el, הגריל.

יבש, טמא, טוב, חמם, חלה, חזק, זקן, דקק, ארך, אור, אדם, אבל, ערם, (עני =) ענה, עמק, עוז, עיר, עגה, נקה, מרר, מעט, מלא, כבד, יפה, שבע, רעב, רחק, רחב, קשה, קצר, קטן, צער, צמא, פרה, עשן.

(B) *MH stems not found in BH.*

108. (1) *Quadriliterals.* These forms are found also in BH and in other Semitic languages.¹ MH has more of these forms than BH, but, unlike Aram., it has exercised a certain restraint in their formation.²

(a) *By Reduplication.*

1. Doubling the third radical (Pi'el), שרטט, ערבב.

2. By repeating the whole root, only in verbs ע"ע and ע"ו.

ספסף, נפנף, נענע, נמנם, (אבעבעות BH) בעבע: ע"ו.

(הרת = הרר) הררה, (הבהבי BH) הבהב, דקדק, דלדל, בצבץ: ע"ע, רפרף, רברב, צחצח, פלפל, עמעם, עלעל, משמש, מקמק, כסכס.

¹ Cf. Ges.-K., § 56, i, p. 510 f.; pp. 515-20.

² Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 180; Dillmann, *Ethiop. Gr.*², p. 251.

פרש, פקח, פצע, פסק, פלג, עשן, עקר, עצם, עטף, ספק, סלק, סוף, רעם, רגש, קרר, קטן, קבל, צרף, צרע, צער, צמק, צוה, פתח, פרש, שחק, שקע, שער, שמן, שמד, שלח, שדף, רפף.

Hiph'il: כנס, טרף, טען, חמץ, חמם, חלט, זקק, זול, (פקר) בקר, אהב, ספר, (שבר) סבר, נשך, נקע, נציץ, נסח, נהג, נדר, נגח, לקק, לוח, קמץ, קטן, קדח, צלל, צהב, פרש, פצע, (פשע) פסע, פלג, פוג, עשה, תנה, שלש, שכר, שחט, שבח, רכס, רווח, רגש, רגל, קרם, קרא,

Hoph'al: נקף, (knock off) נקף, נדר, חמם, זקק, זול, (participle) בדל, (go round), קרר, קרש, קרם, קבל, צנע, פרש, סגר, סבך, נתר, תאם, שלש, שחר (be black).

B. The Stems.

I. THE SIMPLE STEM.

111. (1) The *Qal*. The *Qal* is identical, both in form and meaning, with the *Qal* in BH. The form *Qatēl* is exhibited in the intransitive verbs: בָּטַל, Ab. v. 16; בָּשֵׁר, Hul. ii. 10; עָמַל, Ab. ii. 14; קָרַב, Pes. ix. 61, &c. *Qatol* is found only in the common verb יָכוֹל. These, however, occur only as participles.

112. The *Participle* coincides almost completely with the partic. in BH. The fem. sing. ends in ת, e.g. גֹּזְלָת robbers; נוֹשֶׁרֶת dropping (of leaves), 'AZ. iii. 8; טוֹחֶנֶת grinding, Git. v. 9; תּוֹבֵעֶת claiming, ib. iv. 8. In verbs עָוָה, לָה, and frequently also in לָא, it ends in ה: בָּאָה coming, Yeb. xv. 10; בּוֹשָׁה ashamed, Dam. iii. 6; רוֹצָה desirous, ib.; חוֹתָה poking, Toh. vii. 9; יוֹצָאָה going forth, Šab. v. 1; but also יוֹצֵאת, Kil. iv. 6; נוֹשֵׂאת וְנוֹתֵנֶת lifting and giving, i. e. trading, Šebu. vii. 8.

113. The Partic. of intransitive verbs, being treated as an adjective, forms the fem. with ה: טְמֵאָה unclean, Nid. iii. 1; בָּטְלָה ceases, Ab. ii. 2; קָרְיָה comes near, Pes. ix. 6, &c.

The Passive Partic., which always expresses in MH a state or condition, is also treated almost like an adjective, and the fem.

sing. always ends in ה, נִרְשָׁה divorced, Yeb. vii. 1; נִשְׁוָּא married, ib. i. 2; שְׂרִייה dwelling, Ab. iii. 2.

114. In this frequent use of the older termination ת for the fem. sing., MH has remained faithful to the BH tradition, in which this termination is far more common than the younger termination ה (cf. Ges.-K., § 94 d). In Aram., on the other hand, the fem. partic. always ends in סָּׁתָּ .

115. (2) Niph'al. The Niph'al also agrees in form and in meaning with the Niph'al in BH.

In the Infinitive the preformative ה is usually elided after the ל. In most texts the short *i* of the ל is then written *plene* with י, in order, presumably, to differentiate it from the inf. Qal. Thus, לִיבְטַל = לְהַבְטִיל to cease, Yeb. vi. 6; לִיהָרֵג = לְהַהָרֵג to be slain, 'Ar. i. 3; לִיהָנוּת to enjoy, Ket. vii. 1; לִיטָהָר to be purified, Kel. iii. 1; לִיטָמֵא to be defiled, Mei. iv. 6; לִיבְגֵם to enter, BB iii. 6; לִיפְקֵל to be stoned, San. vi. 6.

The full form is, however, also common, especially in weak verbs: לְהַבְרִאות to be created; לְהַפְרֵע to be paid, Ab. v. 1; לְהַוָּדַע to be known, ib. iv. 22; לְהַנָּטֵל to be taken, Šebi. iii. 9; לְהַפְקֵל to be stoned, BQ iv. 8; לְהַשָּׁעֵן to lean, So. ix. 15.

Often the texts waver, thus: לִיגְנוֹ, L. לְהַגְנוֹ to be shorn, BQ ix. 1; לִיגְלַע, L. לְהַגְלַע to break open, Nid. viii. 3; לִינָשָׂא, L. לְהַנָּשֵׂא to be married, Yeb. ii. 10; לִיפְרַע [היפרע] BM iv. 2; לְהַקְרֵא, L. לִיקְרוֹת to be called, 'Ed. v. 6; לִישָׁבַע, L. לְהַשָּׁבַע to swear, BM iii. 1.

116. In one case, the frequently occurring technical expression הַפְּרָת (derived from Num. xv. 31, &c.), the preformative ה is dropped even when not preceded by ל: פְּרָת, e.g. Pes. iii. 5, &c. Often, however, particularly when preceded by ב, and especially in Palestinian texts, the full form הַפְּרָת is found: Hal. i. 2; Pes. ix. 1; Keri. ii. 6, &c.

117. This elision of the ה is merely an extension to the Inf. when preceded by a preposition, of the phonetic principle followed

in the formation of the Imperfect. Cf. also the elision of the article after a preposition, and other cases of the elision of the ה in Ges.-K., § 23 k. It is found in the Inf. Niph. in isolated cases also in BH (Ges.-K., § 51 l., 53 q.), and may have been quite common in the colloquial language.

118. The fem. Partic. always ends in ת, even in verbs ע"ו, ל"א, and ל"ה (cf. above, § 112), e.g. נִגְנְוֹת to be hidden, So. iii. 3; נִמְכְּרֹת to be sold, Ket. iii. 7; נִזְנְוֹת, to be fed, Ket. xii. 2; נִקְרְאוֹת to be read, Meg. i. 1; נִהְנְוֹת to enjoy, Ned. vii. 9.

Signification of the Niph'al.

119. (i) Reflexive: נִחַלְקִי they divided themselves—disagreed, 'Er. i. 2; נִטְמֵן hiding himself, 'Ar. ix. 4; נִתְכַּנֵּס to gather oneself, to enter, Ned. x. 4; נִמְנוֹ to count oneself, Šab. i. 4; נִפְטְרִין to depart,¹ Ab. i. 8; נִישָּׂא to marry oneself, Ket. vii. 10.

In a few cases it is found in a tolerative sense: נִנְבֵּן to allow oneself to be stolen from, t. BQ vii. 8; נִשְׁאֵל to allow oneself to be consulted, t. Dam. ii. 24; נִשְׁמָעִי to consent,² San. 82 a, Sifre, Num. xxv. 1.

120. (ii) Middle: נִהְנֶה to enjoy, Ab. iv. 5;³ נִזְכֵּר to recollect, Ber. iii. 5; נִמְלֵךְ to change one's mind, Dam. iii. 2; נִפְרַע to obtain payment, Ab. iii. 16; נִשְׁאֵל to consult, MQ iii. 1; נִשְׁפֵּר to make profit, Šebi. ix. 10; נִפְסֵד to incur loss, Pes. 50 b; נִעָנֶה to answer Šab. 33 b.

121. (iii) Passive to Qal: נִאָּכַל to be eaten, Ber. i. 1; נִגְמַר to be finished, Pea iv. 8; נִשְׁכַּב to be lain with, San. 54 b.⁴

As passive to Pi'el: נִדְמָעִי to be mixed with tithe, T'er. v. 6

¹ Cf. 1 Sam. xix. 10 in Qal.

² To sexual intercourse, by the woman. Perhaps, however, שָׁמַע in this sense is equivalent to the Aram. שָׁמַע = שָׁמַע to serve, and the Niph'al would, therefore, be passive to Pi'el שִׁמְעָה, sc. הַמְטָה.

³ So Sirach xxx. 19, &c.

⁴ Of illicit intercourse, cf. שָׁכַב אֵת in BH. See BDB., s.v., p. 1012 (3).

(cf. *ib.* 5). To Hiph'il: נָעַל to be cleansed by boiling, j. *Ter.* xi. 5 (cf. 'AZ. v. 12).

As passive to an intransitive verb: קוֹפֵּץ וְנִקְפֵּץ . . . קוֹפֵּץ וְנִקְפֵּץ
A deaf mute makes signs (with his hand or head), and signs are made to him . . . , makes signs with his mouth, and signs are made to him,¹ *Git.* v. 7.

Denominative verbs in the Simple Stem are but few. Examples are: חוֹלֵב *Šab.* 95 a; לִיחֹלֵב to milk, *ib.* 53 b; קָפַץ to take a handful (from חֲפָנִים), *MŠ.* ii. 5; כּוֹבֵּרִין to sift (—כְּבֵרָה), *Šab.* xx. 3; סוֹפֵג to absorb (—סָפּוּג = σπώγγος). *Tem.* i. 1; נִפְסָח to be lame, j. *Ber.* i. 5.

2. THE INTENSIVE STEM.

122. (1) *Pi'el*. The *Pi'el* is identical with the BH *Pi'el*, except that it is often spelt with י after the short *hireq*. This is merely an orthographical device to prevent its confusion with the *Qal*, and has no grammatical significance whatever.²

The fem. of the Partic. sing. ends in ת, as מְבַשֶּׁלֶת cooking, מְכַבֶּשֶׁת washing, *Ket.* v. 2, except in verbs לִ"ה, לִ"א, in which it has ה: מְטַמְּאָה defiling, *Hul.* i. 1; מְרַדָּה causing to hop, *Šab.* xviii. 2.

Signification of the Pi'el.

123. (i) Intensive or iterative: תִּהְלֵךְ to walk,³ 'Er. x. 2; וַיִּנָּהֵג to commit fornication (repeatedly), *San.* vii. 5; מְחַמְדָּתָן she covets them, *Mak.* iii. 5; מְחַתְּכוֹ he cuts it up⁴; מְעַבְּרוֹ he tans it, *Šab.* vii. 2; מְנַשְׁכֶּת blows, *Men.* x. 4; מְתַלְּשִׁין plucking violently, *Yo.* vi. 4.

¹ The *Niph'al* is used here loosely, in order to preserve the personal construction with the subject which is characteristic of MH style. With these uses of the *Niph'al* in MH, cf. BH, *Ges.-K.*, § 51 c-g.

² Similarly the *Pu'al* is spelt with י after the short u, see below, §§ 126, 129, and above, § 39. So regularly in *Aram.* Stein's suggestion (*Das Verbum*, p. 31) that this spelling signifies a lengthening of the vowel consequent upon the dissolution of the doubling, cannot be entertained at all.

³ Contrast *Qal* הוֹלֵךְ to go, *Yeb.* vii. 5.

⁴ Contrast *Qal* הוֹתֵךְ to cut, 'Er. x. 13.

124. (ii) Causative: טִיהַרְתֶּם ye have declared to be clean, 'Ed. i. 14; יִפְּהָּ they beautified her, Ned. ix. 10; מִיַּעַט diminish; רִיבָה increase, BQ viii. 4; סִילַק to put aside, 'AZ. iii. 7; עִיבְרָה he caused her to be pregnant, Yeb. vii. 5; לָשַׁבַּח to cause to forget, 'Er. vii. 9; מִשְׁתַּקֵּין they silence, San. v. 2; הִירְשֵׁוּ he caused him to be deaf, BQ 86 a.

125. (iii) Denominative: מְחַבֵּין to angle (— חֲבָה), BQ 81 a; לִבְתָּרָה to carry on the shoulder, Šab. 5 b; מְסַלֵּחַ (— סָלַח), T'ar. xi. 5. Some of these have a privative force: מְדַשֵּׁן to remove ashes, Yo. ii. 3; מְזַרְדִּין to nip off shoots; מְיַבֵּלִין to remove wens (= יַבֵּלַח); מְסַקְלִין remove stones; מְפָרְקִין remove faded leaves, Šebi. ii. 2, 3; מְזַנְבִּין to trim, ib. iv. 6; לְמַזְוִין to remove thorns, MQ 6 a; מְחַלֵּעַ to remove vermin, j. Šab. vii. 2.¹

126. (2) *Pu'al*. Of the *Pu'al* only the Partic. is common. Of the other parts of the stem only the following examples have been preserved: אֶזְרַע it happened, t. Šebu. 1, 2; חוֹיְבָנֵנוּ we were made liable, Mak. 3 a; יְהִיבֵל to be rendered common, Qid. 77 a; יְחֻנְנֵנוּ to find favour,² So. ix. 15; חוֹתֵמָה (so pointed in L.) to be cut up, H'ul. iv. 1; יִפְּי to be made fair, good,³ Pea vi. 6; לִיָּקַט be gathered, ib. v. 1; יִנְיָבֵנוּ they will be dried up,⁴ Makš. v. 3; נִיטַל to be taken away,⁵ Kel. iii. 2; תְּעִיבֵר צִוְּרָתוֹ let its form be made to pass away,⁶ P'es. vii. 9; תּוֹרְמָה to be tithed, t. Ma'a. ii. 2.

¹ Cf. with BH, Ges.-K., § 52 f-h.

² In elevated style. The whole passage is a later addition to the Mishna, not found in the *Editio Princeps*. The form may, however, be *Po'al*. L. has יִחַנְנֵנוּ, *Hoph'al*.

³ The reading is uncertain. L. has יִפְּי; other texts have יִפִּי, יִפָּה, יִפָּה. The form יִפָּה is given in all texts in the same phrase in K^t. viii. 4, where it is also parallel to הוֹרַע. Cf. also Krauss, *ZDMG.*, lxvii. 732.

⁴ So in most texts. In L. the whole passage is missing.

⁵ Some texts, including L., reads נִיטַל.

⁶ This is a common technical expression in connexion with sacrifices. Cf. the active עִיבֵר צִוְּרָה, B'r. 40 b, and the noun עִיבֹר צִוְּרָה, P'es. 82 b. The reading of the *Pu'al* is not, however, quite certain. T. has תְּעִיבֵר, תְּעִיבֵר, P'es. vi. 6, &c.

Further, as an imitation of BH: **וַיְבַרְשׁ הַדָּבָר** Qid. 66 a.¹ The following are doubtful: **לְקַדְשׁוֹ** to be sanctified, parallel to **נִמְאָא**, Men. xii. 1, but probably read Qal, **קָדְשִׁי**; ² **פּוֹתִיתִי** I have been enticed; Gen. R., § 71.

127. The finite parts of the Pu'al have been replaced by the Hithpa'el (Nithpa'el), which latter has greatly extended its usage as a passive, in the same way as the old passive of Qal was already in BH replaced by its corresponding reflexive, Niph'al. The Partic. alone has been preserved in the Pu'al as a living form, but only in an adjectival sense to express a state or condition.³ Thus, the Partic. Pu'al bears the same relation to Pi'el as the passive partic. *Qaṭul* bears to the Qal (cf. above, § 112).

128. In the formation of the fem. sing. of the Partic., the same rule is observed as in the Pi'el. The short vowel *ä* is regularly followed by *y*, to prevent confusion with the Partic. Pi'el.

129. The following are examples of the Partic.: **מְאֻכָּלוֹת** consumed, Tam. i. 4; **מְבֻצָּרָה** fortified (of an eruption surrounded by sound flesh), Neg. i. 3; **מְגֻלָּה** uncovered, open, Šab. xix. 1; **מְזוּנָה** armed, BQ 57 b; **מְחֻלָּל** made common, Dam. v. 1; **מְבֻיָּנָה** agreed, Mak. ii. 5; **מְיֻפָּה** beautified, j. Giṭ. ii. 1; **מְנוּדָה** excommunicated, Ned.

¹ An imitation of BH derived from Esther ii. 23. This *Baraita*, so different from the ordinary oral *Baraita*, seems to be an extract from a historical chronicle. It exhibits a number of other imitations, such as the use of the consecutive tenses (cf. below, § 156), and poetical expressions. Cf. also above, § 16.

² In some texts **קפלה** and **הבהבה**, Šab. 33, 3, are also pointed as Pu'al: **קפלה. הבהבה. יבוקר**, 'Ed. iv. 5 in L. is an error for **יובקר**, as in Pea vi. 1 in L.

³ Cf. MŠ. v. 11, where **מְחֻבָּר** joined to the soil, is parallel to **תְּלוּשׁ** plucked from the soil, and both these participles are parallel to **יָשָׁן, חָדָשׁ**. So. ib. 6 **מְתַבְּעִים** has the force of a present participle, 'may be cleared away', whereas **מְבוּעָר** represents a past participle, expressing a condition, almost like an adjective, 'cleared away'. Cf. also the adjectival use of **מְזוּנָה** appointed, as contrasted with the verb **נְזַדְּמִנִי**, Ab. d^eRN. ii. 3.

i. 1; מְעֹרְבָת mixed, Šab. xvi. 3; מְקֻיָּם confirmed, BM 7a; מְרֻבָּעַת squared, Kil. v. 5; מְתִילָעַת wormy, BB vi. 2; מְתֻיָּקֵן prepared,¹ Ab. iii. 16; מְתֻשָּׁעִים divided into nine, j. Šebi. i. 4.

130. In a few cases the preformative מ has been dropped: חִתָּךְ = מְחַתָּךְ cut up, 'Uq. iii. 2; מוֹעָטִין = מְמוֹעָטִין (as in L.) few, Ber. vii. 3; Dam. v. 5, &c.; מְעֻבְּרוֹת = עֻבְּרוֹת pregnant women, Par. iii. 2 (L. has עֻבְּרוֹת, so Yo. x. 5). So probably הוֹעָב = מְחוֹעָב abominable, 'Er. 68 b. Cf. above, § 62. So sometimes also in BH, Ges.-K., § 52 s.

131. The disappearance of the finite parts of the Pu'al, and their replacement by the originally reflexive Nithpa'el, is evidently due to the decay of the inflexional power of the language. It was no longer capable of expressing the modification of the stem idea by internal change alone without the aid of external additions to the stem. The partic. with its firm preformative has been preserved, and even extended to newly acquired verbs. But the imperfect, with its continually changing preformatives, and, especially, the perfect which has no preformatives at all, were no longer able to maintain themselves. This decaying tendency was already strong in BH, in which the finite parts of the Pu'al are very scarce, as compared with other stems.² The same tendency was at work in the disappearance of the old passive of the Qal,³ and its replacement by the reflexive Niph'al.

The same phenomenon appears in all the other Semitic languages. In Assyrian the reflexive stems were gradually supplanting the passives. In Ethiopic, Modern Arabic, and Aramaic the passive forms have disappeared, and been replaced by the corresponding

¹ L. has Hoph'al, מִיתָקֵן. So wherever this verb occurs in the passive, e.g. Para iii. 3, &c.

² The finite parts of the Pu'al are not found at all in Joshua, 1 Samuel, Micah, Jonah, Habakkuk, Chronicles, Nehemiah, and Daniel, and only once or twice in Judges, 2 Samuel, Amos, Lamentations, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes.

³ Cf. Ges.-K., § 52 e, s. 53 u, and the reff. to Böttcher and Barth.

reflexives.¹ MH, however, did not go so far, since it has preserved remnants of the Pu'al, and in addition has retained the Hoph'al as an active and living stem in all its parts.

132. (3) *Hithpa'el*—*Nithpa'el*. The reflexive of the intensive stem in MH is, with a few exceptions, *Nithpa'el* instead of the BH *Hithpa'el*. These two formations are identical both in form and in meaning, except that in the perfect the one has ה as the preformative, the other נ. There can be no doubt that they are really one and the same stem. The preformative —ה was in the course of time changed in popular speech into —נ, on the analogy of *Niph'al*. In the popular mind ה became associated with the causative idea, through the influence of *Hiph'il*, *Hoph'al*, and —נ with the reflexive idea, through the influence of *Niph'al*. This change extended only to the perfect. For in the imperfect there is no room for either of these preformatives, and in the infinitive and imperative *Niph'al* itself has —ה, hence also *Hithpa'el*-*Nithpa'el* has retained —ה (e.g. *לְהַתְּנִיף* to magnify oneself, Ab. iv. 5; *לְהִתְקַיֵּם* to exist, v. 7; *הִתְחַבֵּל* consider, iii. 1, &c.). In the participle the preformative —נ has maintained itself, in spite of the *Niph'al* partic. *נִקְטֵל*, through its firmly established nominal force. Besides, it would be unreasonable to expect that an analogy-formation of this kind should be worked out to its full logical extreme.

133. The preformative —ה survives only in a few cases: *וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה* and he bowed down, Bik. iii. 6 (probably a reminiscence of *וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה* Deut. xxvi. 10); *וְהִתְפַּלֵּלְתָּ* thou hast prayed, Ta'a. iii. 8; in the legal phrase *וְהִתְקַבַּלְתָּ* thou hast received; Ket. ix. 8;²

¹ Cf. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gr.*, § 115; Dillmann, *Ethiop. Gr.*, § 80; Spitta, *Gram. d. Arab. Vulg. Dialect von Aeg.*, § 90a (4); the various Aram. Grammars.

² Four times. L. has twice *נִתְקַבַּלְתִּי*. So in v. 1 L. has *נִתְקַבַּלְתִּי* for edd. *הִתְקַבַּלְתִּי*. Contrast also t. Ket. ix. 4 with xi. 1.

הִתְנַדַּב he 'donated', Men. xii. 3 (L נתנדב); הִתְעַנֵּינוּ we fasted, 'Er. 41a; הִשְׁתַּעַבְדֶּתֶם ye were enslaved, Šab. 88b; הִתְבַּעַרְתִּי I made myself ugly, Gen. R., § 17 הִתְמַלְאֵתִי, הִתְמַלְאוּ ib., § 33.¹

The Nithpa'el agrees with the BH Hithpa'el both as regards its meaning and its formation (cf. Ges.-K., § 54).

134. Formation. The preformative syllable is, as stated above, —נִתְ in the perfect, in the other parts it is exactly like Hithpa'el in BH. The fem. sing. of the participle follows the rules given above (§§ 112, 122).

The phonetic rules regulating the preformative are the same as in BH. (i) When the first radical is a sibilant ז, ס, צ, ש, the ת is transposed after the sibilant. In the case of the ז, the ת is changed into ד, as in Aram. (cf. Dan. ii. 9), and of צ, into ט. Exx.: הִזְדִּיף to be forged, Git. ii. 4; מִזְדִּיגִין to join themselves together, San. v. 5; נִסְתַּחֲפָה to be swept away, Ket. i. 6; מִצְטַרְפִּין to be joined, Naz. vi. 1; מִצְטַעֵר to be grieved, San. vi. 5; נִשְׁתַּיֵּיר to be left over, Yeb. viii. 2.

135. (ii) When the first radical is ד, ט, or ת, the preformative ת is assimilated to the first radical. The short *z* of the preformative syllable is then often written with י, as in Pi'el: נִדְיִירָה to be manured by cattle; נִטְיִיבָה to be improved, Šebi. iv. 2; מִיטְהַרִים to be purified, Yo. viii. 9;² נִיטְמָאת to become unclean, Hag. iii. 2; הִתְלִישׁ to be plucked out, Šebi. vi. 3; מִיתְרָגִם to be translated, Meg. iv. 1.

Assimilation of the ת is sometimes found also with other consonants, מִנְהִיזִין to squirt off, BQ ii. 1; so, perhaps, מִקְדָּשִׁין to become holy, 'Or. iii. 3.

¹ The forms נִכְפַּר, Deut. xxi. 8, and נִזְכָּרוּ, Ezek. xxiii. 48, are also usually explained as Nithpa'els. Cf., however, Eitan, *JQR.* (N. S.), xii, p. 25, who holds that these two forms are survivals of a stem *Nippa'el*, reflexive of Pi'el corresponding to Niph'al in the Simple Stem.

² But also מִתְטַמָּא, Naz. iv. 3. Cf. especially, Kel. ii. 1.

Signification of Nithpa'el. The Nithpa'el bears the same relation to the Pi'el as the Niph'al to the Qal.

136. (i) It is primarily Reflexive : **מִתְאַבֵּק** to cover one self with dust, Ab. i. 4 ; **מִתְוַדֵּעַ** to make oneself known, ib. i. 10 ; **מִתְחַבֵּד** to rub oneself, BQ iv. 6 ; **לְהִתְכַסּוֹת** to cover oneself, Ned. vii. 3 ; **נִסְתַּבֵּן** to dry oneself, Yo. vii. 3 ; . . . **הִתְעַטֵּף . . . הִתְכַּסָּה . . .** **הִתְלַבֵּשׁ** to dry oneself, Yo. vii. 3 ; . . . **הִתְאַוָּר** to clothe, wrap, cover, gird thyself, Ber. 16 b. It is sometimes strengthened by the addition of a reflexive pronoun : **הֵן מִתְעַצְמִין** they shut of themselves, Šab. 151 b.

137. (ii) Internally reflexive, or in a middle sense : **מִתְיָרָא** to fear, So. vii. 8 ; **נִתְבְּנֵנִי** I intended, Men. xiii. 4 ; **מִתְנַדְּבִין** to 'donate', Zeb. x. 8 (cf. Ezra iii. 5 ; 1 Chron. xxix. 17) ; **מִתְיָאֵשׁ** to despair, Ab. i. 7 ; **הִסְתַּבֵּל** to consider, ib. iii. 1 ; **הִשְׁתַּדַּל** to strive, ib. ii. 5. Further, the performance of an act in which the subject is interested, which thus assumes a purely active significance : **הִתְקַבֵּל** to receive (for oneself), Ket. ix. 8.

138. (iii) Inchoative, to describe the entry into a new state or condition, especially of the body or mind : **נִתְאַלְמָהּ** (= **נִתְאַלְמָהּ**, cf. above, § 54) she became a widow, Yeb. xiii. 4 ; **נִתְגַּיְרוּ** they became proselytes, Ket. iii. 1 ; **נִתְחַרְשׁ** to become deaf-mute, Yeb. xiv. 1 ; **נִסְתַּמָּא** to become blind, 'Ar. 17 b ; **נִתְפַּשַׁח** to regain one's hearing ; **נִשְׁתַּפַּח** to regain one's sanity, BQ iv. 4 ; **נִשְׁתַּמָּה** to become mad, Git. ii. 6 ; **נִשְׁתַּחַק** to become dumb, ib. vii. 1.

139. (iv) Reciprocal : **נִתְעַרְבוּ** they become mixed up one with the other, Yeb. xi. 5 ; **נִצְטַרְפוּ** they joined one another, 'Or. ii. 11 ; **נִשְׁתַּתְּפוּ** they joined each other in partnership, Dam. vi. 8. Often, however, the reciprocal idea is strengthened by the addition of reciprocal pronouns : **זֶה בָּזָה זֶה בָּזָה** Pes. iii. 5 ; **נִתְעַצְמוּ זֶה בָּזָה זֶה בָּזָה** they quarrelled, t. BM i. 16 ; **מִתְרַצִּים זֶה לָזֶה** they become reconciled to each other, Ned. v. 6 ; **זֶה מִזָּה . . . נִתְקַבְּלוּ** MŠ. v. 9 they received . . . from each other.

140. (v) Finally, the Nithpa'el is extensively used in a passive sense, serving as a substitute for the Pu'al (§ 127); נִתְבַּשְׁלוּ to be boiled, Ned. vi. 6; נִדְבַּלָה to be manured, 'AZ 49 a; מִתְחַלֵּל to be profaned, Ab. i. 11; יִתְמַעֵד to be pressed, Mⁿ. x. 4; נִתְנַסָּה to be tried, Ab. v. 3; נִתְפַּצְעוּ to be cracked, 'Or. iii. 8; נִתְפַּתְּהָה to be seduced, Ket. iv. 1; נִתְקַוְּצָה to be cleared of thorns (privative) Šebi. iv. 2; מִתְקַדְּשָׁה to be betrothed, Qid. ii. 1,¹ corresponding to the Pi'el active: בשל, זבל, חלל, מעך, נסה, פצע, פתה, קוין (cf. MQ 6 a), קדש.

This passive use of a reflexive stem is common to all Semitic languages in their later stages, cf. above, § 131. In BH it is comparatively rare in the Hithpa'el, cf. Mic. vi. 16; Prov. xxxi. 30; Qoh. viii. 10, and the cases cited in the Note to § 133. See Ges.-K., § 54 g.

141. (4) *Po'el, Po'al, and Hithpo'el.* These stems, already rare in BH, have practically disappeared in MH (cf. above, § 105). Po'el is found in a few ע"ע verbs, cf. below, § 191. In the strong verb it is found only in the forms מְשׁוּעָרִים gate-keepers, by analogy from the parallel מְשׁוּרָרִים singers, 'Ar. 11 b,² and רוֹקֵן to empty, Lev. R. 24, a secondary form of רִיקֵן San. 60 b. This is a denominative of רִיקֵן, BH רִיקָם; cf. above, § 54. Of the Po'al no trace is to be found in MH. The Hithpo'el is found as Nithpo'el in a few ע"ע verbs, cf. below, § 191, and in the form נִתְרוֹקְנָה she was made empty, Ned. x. 2.

3. THE CAUSATIVE STEM.

(1) *Hiph'il.* The Hiph'il is identical with the Hiph'il in BH, both in form and in meaning.

142. The preformative א, instead of ה, is found in some texts in אִוִּיתִנִּי thou hast cheated me (= הוִּיתִנִּי, as in L, cf. Exod.

¹ Of a woman. The corresponding reflexive is קִדְּשָׁה אֶת עַצְמָהּ, Qid. iv. 9

² But the verb is in the Pi'el: יְשִׁיעַר, ib.

xxii. 20, &c.), BM iv. 4, no doubt on the analogy of the cognate verbal noun **אוֹנָאָה** (L **הוֹנָאָה**). For BH cf. Ges.-K., § 53 k, p.

143. In the Infinitive the ה is elided in **לְרַבּוֹת** (= **לְהַרְבּוֹת**) to increase; **לְשַׁחֲתוֹת** (= **לְהַשְׁחֲתוֹת**) to cause delay, 'Er. x. 15; **לְרַחֵץ** (= **לְהַרְחִיץ**) to rinse, j. 'AZ. iii. 5.¹ Cf. above on Niph'al, § 119, and for BH Ges.-K., § 53 q. Elsewhere the ה is preserved: **לְהַבְעִיט** to frighten, Yo. v. 1; **לְהַחְמִיר** to be strict; **לְהַקַּל** to be lenient, Kil. ii. 2; **לְהַכְנִיֵּס** to bring in, Ket. vi. 3; **לְהַצְנִיעַ** to hide, Dam. iii. 3, &c.

144. The fem. sing. of the Partic. follows the rule given above, § 112: **מְשַׁכַּחַת** causing to forget, Ab. ii. 2; **מְתַרְעֶחֶת** blowing the horn (denom. of **תְּרוּעָה**, cf. above, § 92), Ta'a. iii. 3, 4; but **מְטַיְבָה** doing good, San. vii. 10; **מְנַיֶּקֶת** nursing, Ket. v. 5; **מַרְעֶחֶת** doing evil, San. vii. 10.

The shortened Hiph'il (Jussive) is rare: **תִּשְׁכַּן** mayest thou cause to dwell, Ber. 16 b; **אַל תִּאֱמָן** do not believe, Ab. ii. 4 (L most texts have **תִּאֲמָיִן**); **אַל תַּחֲזֹק טוֹבָה** ib. ii. 8 (L).

145. *Signification.* (i) Usually Causative: **לְהַבְטִיל** to cause to cease, Suk. v. 5; **מְקַרֵּא** to make to read, to read to, Bik. iii. 7; **הַשִּׁיף** to cause to bite, San. ix. 1; **הַקְדִּיחָהּ** to cause to burn, BQ ix. 4, &c.

146. (ii) Inchoative, or Internally Causative, describing the entry into a state or condition. This usage is even more frequent in MH than in BH (cf. Ges.-K., § 53 e). Exx.: **יִבְרִיא** to become healthy, Šab. xix. 5; **הִבְרִיקָהּ** to become bright (euphemistically—blind), BM vi. 2; **תִּגְדִּיל** to grow up, come of age, Ket. vi. 6; **הָעֵשִׂיר . . . הָעֵנִי** to grow rich, poor, ib.; **יָעֲנִי** they will become poor, Me'il. 17 a; **מִחְכִּים** to grow wise, Ab. ii. 5; **יִבְחִילוּ**, **הִבְאִישׁוּ**, **יִאֲדִימוּ** to become ripe, ill-smelling, red, Ma'a. 1, 2; **הִזְקִיבוּ**, **הִזְקִינִי**

¹ **לְשִׁטְחָהּ**, cited by Stein (p. 10 b) and by Albrecht (§ 101 b) is a noun, for a spread, or mat, cf. Bertinoro to Hul. ix. 3.

to become old, rotten, sour, BQ ix. 2 ; הִשְׁחִירוּ, הִקְצִירוּ to become black, short, Neg. i. 5 ; הִלְבִּינוּ, הִאָּרִינוּ to become white, long, ib. 6.

Examples of Denominative verbs in Hiph'il are הִתְחִילָה (—) to begin, Šab. i. 2 ; הִצְבִּיעַ (—אצבע) to put up the finger, Yo. ii. 2 ; הִנָּיִב to face south (—ננב), 'Er. 53 b ; יִרְרִים, יִצְפִּין to face south, north, BB 53 b, &c.

147. (2) *Hoph'al*. The Hoph'al is extremely common. It differs in no respect from the BH Hoph'al, except that it takes the vowel *ǣ* after the preformative, always written *plene* with ו : —הוּ, —מוּ,¹ &c., even in strong verbs, instead of the usual BH *hō*. This form of the vowel is found occasionally in BH in strong verbs (Ges.-K., § 53 s), and regularly in most of the weak verbs, viz. ע"ו, פ"ו, פ"נ, ע"ע, and ל"א. As *ǣ* is also the regular vowel of the Pu'al it must have become in the popular mind the only characteristic vowel of the passive stems, resulting in the total suppression of the vowel *ō*.

148. Examples of Hoph'al : הוּחָקוּ to be made strong, confirmed, Yeb. xii. 6 ; הוּסַבְּךָ to become intertwined, Pe. vii. 3 ; מוּסָנָר to be shut up, Neg. i. 7 ; מוּצָנָע to be hidden, Ter. viii. 8 ; מוּקְדָּמִים early, Šebi. x. 5 ; הוּשְׁחָרוּ to be made black, Hag. 22 b ; הוּשְׁלָשׁ to be deposited with a third party, Ket. vi. 7 ; הוּרַע to become bad, Pe. vi. 6 ; הוּלָּא to become cheap ; הוּקָרָא to become dear, BM v. 8 ; מוּדָּר to be forbidden by vow ; מוּפָּרָשׁ to be separated, Ned. i. 1 ; מוּדָּרְמוֹת facing south, Men. 85 a ; הוּדָּח to be rinsed, Makš. iv. 3 ; יוּרַע to be made bad, BB x. 5 ; יוּצָן to be made cold ; יוּתָּן to be destroyed, 'AZ iii. 9, &c.

149. (3) *Saph'el*. This old stem is found in the verb סָרַב²

¹ This traditional pronunciation as *ǣ* is proved to be correct by the invariable spelling with ו. So also in BH even in strong verbs, according to the Babylonian punctuation, cf. Kahle, *Masoreten d. Ostens*, p. 193.

² Also in Sirach iv. 25 a ; xli. 2, and, probably, also in the BH noun סָרָבִים.

(contracted from **סָרַהַב**), to rebel, refuse; **מִסְרִבִּין** N^od. viii. 7; B^{er}. 4 a, &c., and in **סָרַגַל** to draw lines; **מִסְרִגְלִין** j. M^{eg}. i. 9; Sopherim i. 1.

150. (4) *Šaph'el*. The causative stem Šaph'el is found in the following verbs: **שָׁחַרַר** to liberate, manumit; **שָׁעַבַר** to enslave, subject; **שָׁכַלַל** to furnish, decorate; **שָׁלַהַב** to be aflame; **שָׁעַמַם** to be dim, dull; and **שָׁרַבַב** to be much, great.

Examples. Active: **שָׁחַרְרוּ** Y^{eb}. xi. 5; Passive Participle: **מְשֻׁחָרַר** Git. iv. 4; **מְשֻׁחָרְרַת** Y^{eb}. vi. 5; **מְשֻׁחָרְרִים** M^š. v. 14; Ništaph'el, in a passive sense; **נִשְׁתַּחַרַר** BQ viii. 4; **נִשְׁתַּחַרְרָה** Y^{eb}. ii. 8; **נִשְׁתַּחַרְרוּ** ib. xi. 2; **אֶשְׁתַּחַרְרִי**, **תִּשְׁתַּחַרְרִי** Qid. iii. 5.

Active: **מְשַׁעְבְּדִין** RH iii. 8; Passive: **מְשֻׁעָבְדִים** mortgaged, Ket. ix. 7, 8; Ništaph'el: **יִשְׁתַּעְבְּד** Git. iv. 4.

שָׁכַלְלוּ he furnished them, San. 38 a; **מְשֻׁכָּלֵל** Sifra (Weiss) 88 c; **מְשֻׁלָּהַב** Qoh. R. i. 5; **מְשֻׁלָּהֲבִין** Mekil. (Weiss) 79; **מְשֻׁעָמַמַת** BM 80 a; **נִשְׁתַּעְמַמוּ** Num. R. x. 8; **שָׁרַבְבַת** B^{er}. 54 b; **נִשְׁתַּרַבְבָה** she became prolonged, So. 53 a.¹

These formations are found in all Semitic languages, including BH.² Nevertheless, these verbs may, perhaps, be loan-words in MH from Aram.

C. The Tenses.

The inflexion of the verb in MH follows generally the verbal inflexion in BH. The following few variations may be noted.

151. (1) The second masc. sing. of the perfect is sometimes spelt with ה at the end, especially in Palestinian texts: **קִיַּיְמַתָּה**.

¹ In the partic. **מְהַלְקֵטִין** to cause birds to pick up corn from the hand, we have a secondary Hiph'il of **לָקַט** with the retention of the preformative ה, formed on the model of Šaph'el, as distinguished from the regular Hiph'il—**מְהַלְקִיטִין** to cause birds to pick up corn from the ground, t. Šab. xviii. 4; cf. Šab. 155 b.

² Cf. Ges.-K., § 55 c. Also the nouns enumerated below, § 262.

thou hast fulfilled, Suk. ii. 9 (L); עֲבַרְתָּהּ, נָתַתָּהּ, but also עֲבַרְתָּ Zeb. viii. 11 (L); הִקְלַתָּהּ Sifra (Weiss) 15 b; הִחַמְרָתָהּ ib. 48 d, &c.

152. (2) The second masc. plur. of the perfect often ends in הִן, instead of הֵם, e.g. עָשִׂיתָן Mid. ii. 2 (but עָשִׂיתֶם in Ab. ii. 3). This is a common phonetic change, which may, however, have been assisted by Aram. influence.¹

153. (3) In the Imperfect the form תִּקְטְלֶנָּה (second and third fem. plur.) has entirely disappeared from MH.² Both genders use יִקְטְלוּ and תִּקְטְלוּ, just as in the perfect they both use קָטְלוּ, and sometimes in MH, קָטְלִיתָן, e.g. הַנְּשׂוּאוֹת יִתְאַרְסוּ וְהָאֲרוּסוֹת יִנָּשְׂאוּ women who had been married may become betrothed, and women who had been betrothed may be married, Yeb. iv. 10; הַבָּנוֹת יִזוּנִי the daughters must be fed, Ket. iv. 6; xiii. 3.

So also in the Imperative the form קָטְלִי is used also for the fem., e.g. וְרָקְדִי . . . וְלֹאֲשִׁיתִי רַחֲצִיָּה וְאָמַר לְאִמּוֹ וְלֹאֲשִׁיתִי רַחֲצִיָּה . . . וְרָקְדִי he said to his mother and to his wife: bathe her . . . and dance before her, Ab. d'RN. xli. 13.

In this MH has merely developed to the full a tendency already strong in BH.³ Modern Arabic has gone further in this respect than MH, and has given up all the fem. plural forms, both in the perfect and the imperfect.⁴ Aram., on the other hand, has carefully preserved the distinction of gender in all its dialects.⁵

154. (4) The imperfect and imperative Qal is spelt *plene* with ו, קָטוּל, יִקָּטוּל. The plur. is יִקָּטְלוּ, קָטְלוּ, except in pause where they

¹ Cf. above, § 70, and JQR., xx. 680 f.

² The few cases found are all imitations from BH. Thus: בְּלִיֹּחִידָךְ תַּעֲלוֹנָהּ בְּלִיֹּחִידָךְ, B'r. 17 a, from Prov. xxiii. 16; תִּבְהִינָה עֵינָיו, Pea viii. 9 (L; editions have תִּבְהִינָה עֵינָיו, from 1 Sam. iii. 2), from Gen. xxvii. 1; וְתִחַיִּנָּה עֵינָיו (Singer, p. 51), from Isa. xxxiii. 17; Ps. xvii. 2.

³ Cf. Gen. xxx. 39; Lev. xxvi. 33 b; Judges xxi. 21 a; Cant. ii. 7; iii. 5; v. 8; vi. 9; viii. 4—ten examples of MH usage against three examples of the older BH usage, viz. iv. 11 and iii. 11 (imperatives).

⁴ Cf. Spitta-Bey, op. cit., § 90 a (1).

⁵ Mandaic forms the only exception, cf. Nöldeke, *Mand. Gr.*, § 162.

are יִטְבֹּלוּ. Exx.: יִחְלֹקוּ they shall divide,¹ BM i. 1, 2; יִטְבֹּלוּ they will bathe, Tōh. x. 3; אַל תִּכְתֹּבוּ do not write, Git. vii. 1 (L); יִמְתֹּקוּ they will become sweet, 'Uq. iii. 4; יִפְלוּטוּ they shall spit out, Ter. viii. 2; יִשְׁטֹפוּ they will overflow, Miq. i. 5; יִתְרוֹמוּ they will tithe, Ter. i. 1. Cf. also the pointing in L: יִגְנוּ they shall be hidden, San. x. 9.

Imper.: כִּתְבוּ write ye! חֲתֹמוּ seal ye! Git. vi. 7; vii. 2; שִׁתְּקוּ be ye silent! Šebi. viii. 9, 10; תִּינוּ give ye! t. Git. vi. 8.

155. (5) The lengthened forms of the imperfect and imperative (cohortative) are not found in MH. The shortened form of the imperfect (jussive) is found only occasionally; cf. for the Hiph'il above, § 144, and for לִ"ה verbs below, §§ 205, 212.

156. (6) The Consecutive Tenses have practically disappeared from MH. In the few cases where they occur, they are conscious imitations of BH. Thus הִשָּׁבַע לִי וַיִּשָּׁבַע לוֹ M^ekil. (Weiss), 66, from Gen. xxv. 33. Five examples occur, besides more than a dozen simple tenses, in that remarkable *Baraita* in Qid. 66 a, which must be a fragment of some historical work written in a mixed style of BH and MH (cf. above, §§ 16, 126 n.). They are וַיֵּאמֶר (three times), וַיִּבְרָךְ (Esther ii. 23); וַיִּפְרְדּוּ they were separated (Ezra x. 16; Neh. ix. 2); וַיִּצְצֵן הָרָעָה and the evil sprouted forth; וַיִּהָרְגוּ and they were slain. They are found occasionally in the older, but not the oldest, parts of the liturgy: וַתֵּתֶן (Singer, op. cit., pp. 228, 230, &c.); וַתִּלְמְדֶנּוּ (p. 39); וַתִּבְדֵּל, וַתִּלְמְדֶנּוּ (pp. 46, 227, 240, six times beside one perfect with simple *waw*); וַתִּפְקְדֶהּ (p. 250); וַתִּשְׁמִיעֵם (p. 252); וַיִּהְרֹגוּ, וַיִּטְלוּ, וַיִּירֶשְׁוּהָ, וַיִּבְלְעוּהָ, וַתִּבְרָהּ (p. 267); וַיִּהְרֹגוּ (p. 49):² וַיִּכְּפוּ (p. 43) is a quotation from Psalms cvi. 11.

¹ The occurrence of this form not in pause is due to scribal error. Thus, in K^et. viii. 6; BM. viii. 8, read יִחְלֹקוּ, as in L. So Ab. iii. 16. L has יִחְלֹקוּ, but edd. יִחְלֹקוּ may also be right.

² Cf. j. Ta'a. 11. 2.

157. As is well known, numerous passages are found even in the oldest portions of the Bible, in which the simple tenses are used in place of the usual consecutive tenses. This becomes more frequent from the time of Jeremiah onward, until in Qohelet the relation between the consecutive and simple tenses is reversed, i. e. the use of the simple tense becomes regular, while that of the consecutive sense becomes exceptional. The explanation of this phenomenon as due to Aram. influence is inapplicable to the numerous cases in the earlier books of the Bible.¹ Probably this irregularity in the use of the simple for the consecutive tense arose at an early time within the Hebrew language itself, and independently of outside influence. It may even be doubted whether the consecutive construction ever attained in popular speech that dominating position which it occupies in the literary dialect. It may be plausibly assumed that the more convenient construction with the simple tenses had survived in the every-day speech side by side with the more difficult construction by means of the consecutive tenses.²

Similarly in Phoenician, which also possesses the consecutive tenses, the simple tenses are used very often where BH would employ the consecutive tenses. Thus: *וּשְׁמַע . . . וַפְעַל* (Cooke, *N. Sem. Inscriptions*, No. 3, l. 8); *וּפְעַלְתָּ אַנְךְ וְיִקְדָּשֶׁתָּ* (No. 29, l. 13); *בֶּן וַפְעַל* (No. 33, l. 3), *פַּעַל וְחָדַשׁ* (No. 38, l. 1); and the common phrase *יִתֵּן וַיִּמְנָא* (No. 13, l. 2, &c.), both of which verbs are perfects.

The contact with Aram. naturally strengthened the simpler construction, until eventually the consecutive construction disappeared from the living speech, and survived only in literature, largely by the force of the literary tradition, as in the later books of the Bible, in Sirach, and other literary productions of the MH period.

¹ Cf. Driver, *Hebrew Tenses*, § 133.

² Cf. also H. Bauer, *Die Tempora im Semitischen*, p. 37 f.

D. Weak Verbs.

(1) GUTTURAL VERBS.

158. In the absence of a trustworthy system of punctuation in MH texts, it is not possible to determine whether the Guttural verbs have suffered any change in MH, as compared with BH. It may, however, be safely assumed that these verbs obey the same phonetic rules in MH as in BH. (Cf. above, §§ 36, 40.)

Examples of Guttural Verbs.

159. Guttural in the First Radical. Qal: לָחַזוּם to trim, Dam. ii. 2; יָעֹלָה to go up, Ber. i. 1; עָמוּר stand up, Yo. i. 7. Niph'al: נָעַנְל to be round, j. 'AZ 41 b; נָעֲנִי they answered, Qid. 40 b; לְהַחְיֹת to be revived, Ab. iv. 22. Hiph'il: הִחְשִׁיךְ he remained till darkness, Šab. xxiv. 1; יָעֲצִים to shut (eyes), Qid. 32 b; מִחְכִּיר to farm, BM 104 b.

160. Guttural in Second Radical. Qal: צָהָבוּ to be bright, Men. 18 a; סוּחֲטִין to squeeze, Šab. xxii. 1. Pi'el: אֶחְרַתִּי to delay, Pes. ix. 9; עִירָה (L points עִירָה) to empty, 'AZ. v. 7 (L 10); מָאַרַח to entertain, Ber. 63 b; יִשְׁרֹשׁ to uproot, Šebi. iv. 4. Pu'al: מְכַוֵּר ugly, Ket. 105 a. Nithpa'el: נִסְתַּחֲפָה to sweep away, Ket. i. 6; יִתְאַרְסוּ to be betrothed, Yeb. iv. 10.

161. Guttural in Third Radical. Qal: נִבְּעַ bubbling up, BB x. 8; רוּחַת spread wide, t. San. vii. 1; לָקַיַח bought, MŠ. iii. 11. Niph'al: נִיטַעַת to plant; נִזְרַעַת to sow, Oh. xviii. 5. Pi'el: מִפְצַע to split, Šab. 145 a; מְקִיפַחַת cut, fragmentary, Oh. xvi. 1. Hiph'il: הִנְבִּיחַ lift up, Yo. iv. 1; מִתְרַעַת to blow trumpet, Ta'a. iii. 3; Hoph'al: מוֹצַעַת spread out, 'Ar. vi. 3.

162. The verb שָׁאַר to leave, hardens the א into י in the Pi'el and Nithpa'el: שִׁייר Pea iii. 2, 3; יִשְׁייר Kil. ii. 3; מְשִׁייר Pes. i. 3; נִשְׁתִּייר Kil. vi. 6. Contrast Partic. Pu'al: מְשִׁוֵּאֵר Pea iii. 3; Zeb. viii. 12.

(2) VERBS פ"א.

163. These verbs follow generally their BH models. Thus, Qal: יֵאָרֵעַ to happen, Yo. i. 1; יֵאָכֵל Pes. x. 1; אֹכֵל Ned. i. 3; אֹמֵר I shall eat, say, Šebi. viii. 9; תֹּאפֶה (but L תופה) to bake, Pes. iii. 3; לִאָגֹר to bind, Šebi. viii. 3; לִאָכֹל Ber. i. 1. The Palestinian texts, however, often have לֹכֵל = לֵאכֵל ('Er. iii. 1, &c.) on the analogy of the imperfect יֹאכֵל, &c. So, usually, in all texts לֹמֵר = לֵאמֵר Šab. ii. 6; Ab. v. 1, &c., on the analogy of יֹאמֵר.

Niph'al: נִאָנְסָה she was violated, Ket. i. 10; נִאָנְסָתִי ib. 6; נִאָמְנָה ib. 7; נִאָנֵר, נִאָנֵד Ma'a. i. 5; תִּאָכֵל Be. i. 1. Pi'el: אִיהֵל to make a tent, Me'il. 17 a; אִירְעוּ Ta'a. iv. 6; אִחְרְתִי to delay, Pes. ix. 9; יִאָבֵד to destroy, 'AZ iv. 7. Pu'al: מִאָחַר delayed, Pes. 6 b. Hiph'il: הִאָהֵיל Oh. iii. 1; מִאָפִיל to make dark, Šab. 86 a; מִאָחִיז to cause to take hold, kindle, Šab. i. 11. Some texts (L, &c.) have מִחִיז, with א elided. Similarly מִאָגִירָת = מִאָגִירָת = מִאָגִירָת t. Dam. i. 10, from אָגַר to store. Hoph'al: יִאָחַר j. Yo. iii. 4.

164. Note. The verb הִפַּךְ forms the imperfect Qal on the analogy of the פ"א verbs. Thus, יִהְפֹּךְ = יִאָפֵךְ = יִהְפֹּךְ = אֹפֵךְ = אִהְפֹּךְ Kil. ii. 3, 4; Ter. ix. 3. The ה in this verb seems to have been weakened into א. Cf. R. Jonah, *Riqmah*, p. א.

(3) VERBS פ"י.

165. MH has preserved the distinction between the three classes of verbs, as in BH. (i) Original פ"ו; (ii) Original פ"י; (iii) With י assimilated to a following צ.

Qal. (i) תִּרְעִי Šebu. iv. 9; תִּצֵּא Yeb. iii. 5; צֵא Pes. iv. 2; but also יִשָּׁן Šab. 25; אִישָּׁן Šebu. iii. 5. (ii) יִבֹּשׁ Šebi. iii. 1; יִינֹק to suck, So. 12 b; יִירֹשׁ to inherit, BB viii. 5; תִּירְשָׁנִי ib.; יִישֵׁר to be straight, strong, Ber. 42 a. (iii) לִצֹק to pour, Šab. xvii. 5.

The Infinitive is formed on the analogy of the imperfect. Thus: לִירֹעַ Ab. iv. 22; לִיֵּלֵךְ Yeb. iii. 10; לִירֹד 'Er. iv. 2; לִישָׁן BB ii. 3;

לִינֵעַ j. Ber. ix. 5; לִינֵק Pes. 112 a; cf. the imperfects יִלְדֵּךְ, יִלְדֵּךְ, יִלְדֵּךְ.¹ Exceptions are: לִצְאָתָּה Seq. iii. 2, and לִיִּרְאָה Ber. 16 b (a liturgical phrase), which are formed as in BH.²

Niph'al: נוֹלָד Ab. ii. 9; נוֹתֵר Ker. iii. 4; נוֹצְרָתָּה Ab. ii. 8; לְהוֹדֵעַ ib. iv. 22³; לְיוֹדֵעַ Šebu. 9 b; יוֹדֵעַ ib. i. 4; יוֹלָד Bek. v. 3. (iii) נִצּוֹחַ Makš. v. 9.

166. Pi'el, Pu'al retain the י, as in BH: יִחַסוּ to give a pedigree, San. 82 b; יִפְיֶתָּה to make fair, good, j. BB viii. 1; מְיַיֶּסֶר to chasten San. 39 a; מְיַתֵּם to make orphaned, Pes. 49 a; יִיבֵם to marry a brother's widow, Yeb. xv. 10; יִיחַדְנִי to set apart, Toh. viii. 6; לְיַנְעָהּ to weary her, So. ii. 1; לְיִשְׁנֵן to make old, BB 91 b; מְיוֹנֵעִין Ket. 8 b; מְיוֹחֶדֶת BQ i. 2; מְיוֹפֶה j. Git. ii. 1; מְיוֹשָׁן Ned. ix. 8.

Nithpa'el. (i) תְּתוּדֶעַ Ab. i. 10; הִתוּדָה (imperat.); לְהִתוּדוֹת to confess, San. vi. 2, but also מְתִישָׁבֶתָּה Kin. iii. 6; נְתִישָׁבָה Ber. 31 a. So the forms נְתוּסָפוּ 'Er. vii. 7; יְתוּסָפוּ Pes. 87 b; מְתוּסַפָּה to be added, Šab. 152 a; מְתוּקָרָה to be burnt, Lev. R. 7; נְתוּתָרוּ to be left over, Pes. 159 b; Yo. 46 a, traditionally pronounced like the Aram. Ittaph'al: נְתוּסָפוּ, מְתוּסַפָּה, מְתוּקָרָה, נְתוּתָרוּ.⁴ (ii) נְתִיחָדָה Git. vii; נְתִיבָמוּ Yeb. i. 4; נְתִיבָתָה Ta'a. 23 b; נְתִיבָתָה Gen. R. 59; נְתִיבָתָה to despair, Ab. i. 7; נְתִיבָתָה Ta'a. 23 b; נְתִיחָדָה Qid. iv. 12; מְתִיבָמוּ Yeb. 3. 1; לְהִתִּיחָר to be haughty, BB 10 b.

167. Hiph'il: (i) הוֹאִילָה Kil. v. 1; הוֹדִיעַ Ab. iv. 22; הוֹתִיחָה

¹ Albrecht's suggestion (§ 106e) that these and similar infinitives (לִאֲמַר, לִיִּתֵּן, &c.) are a combination of the imperf. with the preposition (= לְיִלְדֵּךְ, לְיִיִּתֵּן, &c.) is against the spirit of the language.

² לִירְדָה Ket. iv. 3, cited by Albrecht (§ 111 b), is not an infin., but a verbal noun: לִירְדָה = יִלְרְדָה; cf. below, § 228, and above, § 62.

³ The preformative ה may have been preserved here because of the assonance with the preceding לְהוֹדִיעַ; cf. above, § 115.

⁴ This traditional pronunciation seems to be more correct than that of the simple Nithpa'el: נְתוּסָפוּ, מְתוּסַפָּה, מְתוּקָרָה, נְתוּתָרוּ. In this latter the ו, as a consonant, would have been written twice; cf. above, § 57. Cf. also the Targum: אֲתוּקָרָה, Lev. x. 16; 2 Sam. xxiii. 7.

Ter. v. 9; אֶנְתִּנִּי (cf. above, § 142); הִקְרִי to become dear, BM v. 9; הוֹתַרְתָּם ib. vii. 2; יִצִּיא מוֹצִיא Ket. viii. 4; הוֹשַׁע save! Ber. iv. 4; הוֹדִי to agree, Pes. iv. 9; מוֹרִיקוֹת to become yellow, So. iii. 4; לְהוֹדִיעַ Ab. iv. 22.

(ii) יִשְׁרִי Ber. 17 a (from Prov. iv. 25); מְטִיבָה San. vii. 10; מְנִיַּב Bek. 7 b; מְנִיָּה Ket. v. 5; מִינְקָת Ket. 60 a; לְהִנְיֵק Pes. 112 a; לְהִיטִיב¹ Yo. iii. 4.

(iii) הִצִּית BQ 22 b; יִצִּית² to kindle, Yo. vi. 7; מְצִיעֵן to spread, Šab. xviii. 3; מְצִיק Ker. 5 b.

Hoph'al: הוֹקֵר BB. v. 8; מוֹבֵל to be led, Toh. vii. 5; מוֹסָף to be added, Šebu. i. 6; מוֹטָב San. vii. 10; מוֹצֵעַ 'Ar. vi. 3; מוֹצֵתָח Num. R. 12.

168. The two verbs יָעַר, יָתַר (original פ"ו), have formed in MH secondary roots וְעַר, וְתַר. Exx. Pi'el: וְיַעַר Lam. R. ii. 13; נִתְוַעְרוּ, לְהִתְוַעַר Num. R. 14. Qal: וְתָרִי j. Suk. v. 5; Cant. R. i. 6. Pi'el: מְוַתֵּר San. xi. 5. Nithpa'el: יִתְוַתְּרוּ BQ 50 a. These may, perhaps, be loan-words from Aram.

The verb הָלַךְ forms the imperfect Qal and the whole of the Hiph'il from יָלַךְ, as in BH. Exx. Qal: יֵלֵךְ Ket. xiii. 7; יִלְכֶּה ib. vii. 4; יִלְכֶּה Nod. vii. 9; יִלְכֶּה 'Er. iii. 5, Inf. לִילְכֶּה ib. iv. 10; BQ i. 1, but also לִלְכֶּה³ Nid. iv. 2; לָכִי Ket. xii. 3; San. vii. 10, Hiph'il: הוֹלְכֶם Šebu. vii. 6; מוֹלִיךְ Ket. xii. 1; 'Er. vi. 7; מוֹלִיכִין 'Er. vi. 7; הוֹלִיךְ (imperat.) Git. vi. 1; יוֹלִיךְ 'AZ iii. 9; לְהוֹלִיכוֹ Pea vi. 3. The Intensive stem is formed throughout from הָלַךְ.

(4) VERBS פ"נ.

169. These verbs conform generally to the BH פ"נ verbs. The נ is regularly assimilated to the following consonant whenever

¹ Some of these forms may be derived from the cognate ע"ו roots: טוֹב, נוֹק; cf. below, § 185.

² L and other texts have יצת = יצת, Qal.

³ The form לְהוֹלִיךְ in edd. is an error for לְהִלְכֶּה, Pi'el, as always in L, and also in edd. BQ ii. 1, &c.

preceded by a preformative with a vowel, or it is dropped altogether where it would have to begin a word with a *sheva* as in the imperative Qal.

(i) Qal. Imperfect: יָגוּב, תִּגְוֹב to dry up, 'AZ v. 3; יָגוּם to bite off, 'Uq. ii. 6; יָגַע to touch, BM ii. 3; תִּטָּל, תִּטּוֹל to take up, Yeb. xv. 3; אָטוּל Pe. vi. 11; אָטַע to plant, Kil. i. 8; יָקוּב to bore, Šab. ii. 4; יִקְבְּנָה ib. xxii. 3; יָתַן to give, ib. iii. 5; יִתְנַנָּה ib. ii. 4; יָדוּר to vow, Naz. viii. 1; אָתַן Ter. x. 6; תִּשָּׂה Šab. xvi. 7; יִטָּל Ket. x. 2. The vowel *ō* is sometimes retained on the analogy of ע"ע verbs (— יִפּוּבִי, תִּפּוּבִי) in the second fem. sing. and in the plural: תִּדְרִי Ned. x. 7; יִשׁוּבוּ to bite in, adhere, Hal. ii. 4.

Imperative: דוּר San. iii. 5; טוּל Yo. vi. 4; טָלִי Git. 78 a; טָלוּ Ma'a. ii. 1; but also טוּלוּ Me'il. vi. 1 (L טָלוּ); תֵּן Git. vi. 1; תִּנֵּנוּ ib. i. 6; תִּינֵנוּ in pause, t. Git. vi. 8; שָׂא lift, Ta'a. iv. 8.

The Infinitive is formed from the Imperfect: לִידוּר Ned. iii. 1 (BH לִנְדוּר Num. vi. 2); לִיגוֹף to strike; BQ i. 4; לִיטוֹל Ab. v. 8; לִיווֹר to become a Nazirite, Ned. 3 b; לִיתוֹר to loosen, j. Bik. i. 8. So לִישָׂא to marry, Yeb. i. 4; לִיתֵן Šab. i. 8, except in the standing expression לִישָׂא וְלָתֵת 'AZ i. 1; ii. 3, &c. (literally: to take and give, i.e. to buy, to deal), where the old forms have been preserved for their assonance.⁵

These infinitives may, perhaps, be older than the BH forms with the termination ת. Cf. לָתֵן 1 Kings vi. 19, which may be a *forma mixta* of a colloquial לָתֵן and the literary לָתֵת. So, perhaps, תֵּן ib. xvii. 14 (Ketib), is a *forma mixta* of לָתֵן (לָתֵת) and תֵּת.

170. When the second radical is a guttural, the נ is preserved: יָנַעַל to put on a shoe, Para viii. 2; תִּנְעוֹל Yo. viii. 1; לִנְעוֹל Šab. xiii. 16; לִנְהוֹג Ab. vi. 3. So also sometimes in other cases: תִּנְוֹר Naz. 17 a; נָצוּר guard, Ber. 17 a (liturgical); לִנְוֹטְעָה Kil. ii. 4 (cf. לִנְמוֹעַ Jer. i. 10).

¹ Cf. the writer's remarks, *JQR.*, xx, p. 686, footnote 3.

171. (ii) Niph'al. Perfect: **נִיָּקַב**, **נִיָּקְבָה** H_{ul}. iii. 1: **נִיָּקְרוּ** to be bored, j. Ter. viii. 5; **נִשְׁאָת** Ket. iv. 4; **נִשְׁאָאִי** ib. v. 2; **נִשְׁאָתָם** t. BB viii. 9 (fem. !). Imperfect: **תִּנְשֵׂא** Yeb. ii. 9; **יִנְקְרוּ** to be spotted, Ma'a. i. 3; **יִנְתָּנוּ** Ket. ix. 2. Infinitive: **לְהִנְטֹל** Para v. 9; **לְנִשְׂאֵא** Yeb. ii. 10; **לְזַק** to be injured, Pes. 8 b (cf. **לִידוֹן** below, § 177). Participle: **נִיָּדָב** to be donated; **נִיָּדָר** Meg. i. 10; **נִיָּדָרִים** 'Ar. i. 1; **נִיָּטַעַת** Oh. xviii. 3; **נִשְׁאָת** Ket. i. 1; **נִיָּשְׂאוֹת** t. BB xviii. 19; **נָתָו** to squirt, H_{ul}. vi. 6; **נִיתָוִין**¹ Makš. v. 2; **נִיתָנִין** Zeb. viii. 9. Some show *ō* in the second syllable instead of *ā*: **נִיָּזְקִין** Pes. 8 b; **נִפְּוֹק** to be kindled, Kel. v. 6; **נִפְּוֹקָת** j. Ber. ix. 4; **נִיָּצוֹל** to deliver, Šab. 32 a; **נִצּוֹלִין**, **נִצּוֹלָת** Para xi. 1; **נִשּׁוֹל** to slip off, Lev. R. 37; **נִיתוּרִין** j. Bik. i. 8; **נִיתוּשׁ** to pluck out, Gen. R. 56.

נ is retained in verbs with second radical **ע**: **נִנְעָלָוּ** to be locked, Pes. v. 5; **נִנְעָלָת** 'Ed. v. 6; **נִנְעָר** to be shaken, BB 74 b.

The Intensive Stem is regular.

172. (iii) Hiph'il: **הִנְעִי** to reach, Bik. iii. 3; **הִדְרִירִי** Ned. iii. 3; **הִדְרָמָה** Ned. 23 a; **הִדְרָתִי** Šab. 127 b; **הִזְוִק** BQ i. 2; **הִיָּטַתִּי** to incline, Ber. i. 3; **הִפְּיִקוּהָ** to kindle, Šab. iii. 1; **הִפְּיָשָׁה** to strike, BM 30 b; **הִשְׂאִי** Ket. vi. 6; **הִמְרָתָם** to permit, Yeb. xv. 3; but also with **נ** retained: **הִנְהִיג** to lead, Kil. viii. 2, 3; **הִנְעִילוּ** Qid. 22 b; **הִנְגִּיב** to face south (denom. from **נִגַּב**), 'Er. 53 b. Imperfect: **יִנְחִיחוּהוּ** BQ iv. 4; **יָפִיחַ** to move, Šab. 82 b; **יָפִיק** Kel. v. 1; **יִתְתִּירוּ** Yeb. xv. 3; but also **יִנְקִירוּ** j. Ma'a. i. 3. Infinitive: **לְהִזְוִק** BQ i. 1; **לְהִפְסֵעַ** to move, Kel. v. 7; **לְהִקְיֹשׁ** to compare, BM ii. 5; **לְהִשְׂיֹא** Qid. 29 a.

Participle: **מְדִיר**, **מְדָרַת** So. iii. 8; **מְפִיל** Yo. iii. 2; **מְפִיף** to strike, Bek. vii. 6, but also **מְנְקִיף** So. 22 b; **מְשִׁיר** to drop, Šab. 67 a; **מְשַׁרְת** Naz. vi. 3; **מְשִׁילִין** to cause to drop, Be. v. 1.

173. (iv) Hoph'al. Perf.: **הִזְבֵּר** Qid. iii. 5; **הִזְוִק**, **הִזְוִקִי** BQ iii. 2; **הִזְפֵּק** Kel. v. 4; **הִזְקִישָׁה** to be compared, Ker. 3 a. Imperf.: **יִזְבֵּר** San. x. 4; **יִזְבָּו** H_{ul}. 27 b; **יִזְמָךְ** Me'il. ii. 3; **יִזְמַן** 'AZ iii. 2.

¹ L has Qal in both passages: **נִיתוּשׁ**, **נִיתוּזִים**.

Partic.: מוֹנֶה corrected, Pes. 112 a; מוֹדֵר Ned. iv. 1; מוֹנֶה Pa. xii. 8; מוֹנֶה Ket. vii. 11; מוֹנֶה ib. i. 3; מוֹנֵן Kel. x. 1; מוֹנֶה Oh. ix. 9; מוֹנֶה surrounded, Suk. i. 10; מוֹנֶה Meg. i. 2.

174. The verb לָקַח forms the imperfect Qal on the analogy of the פָּנַח verbs, as in BH: יָקַח Yo. vi. 1; יָקַח.

The Niph'al is regular, but some later texts show assimilation: נִיַּח 'Er. iii. 1 (L נִלָּח); נִקְחִין, נִקְחִית Men. 42 b.

(5) VERBS עָוִי, עָוָה.

175. In this class of verbs, MH follows faithfully the model of BH, but has carried certain forms to a fuller development, especially in the Intensive Stem. The עָוִי forms, like רִישׁ, דִּין, בִּין, &c. differ very little from the עָוָה forms, and the two classes may be treated together.

176. (i) *The Simple Stem.*

Qal. MH has preserved the distinction between transitive verbs which have the vowel *ā* in the perfect, and intransitive verbs which have *ē* or *ō* in the perfect.

Exx. Transitive: נָפַח he corked them, MŠ iii. 12; נָן to feed, Ber. 58 b (Singer, p. 319); נָנַח to fence, Ab. deRN. i. 7; נָנַח to draw a circle, Ta'a. iii. 8; נָחַם to pity, Neg. ii. 5; with the older fem. termination ת: נָשַׁבַּח to return, Lev. R. 23; נָחַמְתִּי to be guilty, BQ i. 2; נָחַם j. Ket. iv. 14; נָשַׁע to thresh, Ber. 58 a; נָנַח to move, Ket. ii. 9; נָנַח 'Er. iv. 1; נָנַח to harrow, 'Ar. ix. 1; נָשַׁמַּח to put, Ber. 28 b; נָנַחַם to judge, San. vi. 6; נָנַחַם Sifre Num. xix. 2.

Intransitive: נָתַח, נָתַח, נָתַח to die, Yeb. i. 2; נָתַח Git. vii. 3; נָתַח to be ashamed, Qid. 81 b; נָתַח t. Oh. v. 11; נָתַח So. ix. 15; נָתַח to come, Naz. iii. 6; נָתַח Yeb. xv. 6; with termination ת: נָתַח Ned. ix. 5; נָתַח Yeb. xv. 1 (L נָתַח); נָתַח Ber. 63 a.

Imperf.: נָתַח to pound, j. Be. ix. 9; נָתַח, נָתַח to feed, Ket. xii. 1; נָתַח to sweat, Toh. ix. 1; נָתַח to form a partition; נָתַח Zeb. 19 a; נָתַח Makš. iii. 8; נָתַח to move, be elated (with נָתַח as subject)

Ket. 67 b; תפוג to grow cold, weak, Yo. iii. 5 (L and other texts (תפוג); יְשׁוּפְנִי to rub, Kel. xiv. 5; יְשׁוּפִים ib. xvi. 1; יְזוּנִי Mid. iv. 5; תָּשׁוּט to go to and fro, Ber. 18 a; אָדָּן BQ ii. 10 (L אָדָּן); תָּמַחַת Tem. iv. 2; תָּחַבְבוּ Ab. i. 11; יָבֵא Naz. iii. 6; תְּבוּאוֹ Šebu. iv. 5.

Infin.: לְדוּכָה Be. 14 a; לְזוּנָה Ket. xii. 3; לָזוּ ib. 1; לְחַיֵּן 'Er. iii. 1; לְמוּל to circumcise, Šab. xix. 4; לְסַיֵּךְ to anoint, Dam. iii. 1; לְשׁוּחַ to bend, Ab. iii. 21. Imperat.: לֵן 'Er. 52 a; בּוֹאֵי Ber. 18 b; בּוֹאֵי Yo. ii. 4.

Partic.: זָנֵן, זָנִין Ket. xii. 1; חָב BQ i. 1; חָבִין 'Er. vii. 11; חָלוּת dance, L (ed. חולות), Ta'a. iv. 8; לָשׁ to knead, Šab. vii. 2; לָשׁוּחַ Pes. iii. 9; צָר to catch, Šab. vii. 3; צָרִין Be. iii. 1; דָּשׁ Šab. vii. 2; דָּן San. ii. 1; מַת Yeb. xvi. 6; גָּר proselyte, Yad. iv. 4; עָר awake, BQ ii. 5; בָּא BQ iii. 5 (ā because of א), but בּוֹר; בּוֹרָה to be waste, BM 101 a; בּוֹשׁ Ma'a. iii. 5; בּוֹשָׁה Dam. iii. 6; בּוֹשִׁין Ket. viii. 1; חוֹצָה Miq. x. 3; נוּחַ easy, Men. x. 3; נוֹחִין Gen. R. 11.

Passive: טוּחַ to plaster, Mid. iv. 1; טוּחוֹת Nid. 24 a; לוֹשָׁה j. So. ix. 14; מוּלִים Pes. v. 3; סוּכּוֹת j. Bik. i. 3; שׁוֹמָה to value, t. BQ x. 1; נִירָה t. BM ix. 29; נִיר 'Er. 17 b.

177. *Niph'al*. Perfect: The preformative נ is pointed with *hireq* (— נִי), evidently on the analogy of the strong verb. Exx. נִידוּנוֹ RH 12 a; נִיפּוּחַ Ab. d'RN. xxiv. 5; נִלְוָשָׁה Hal. ii. 2; נִנּוּחֵי Gen. R. 13; נִצּוּר Šab. 106 b; נִצּוּרִי Be. iii. 2; נִינָתָם (fem.) t. BB viii. 19.

Imperf.: יֵאֹר to be light, j. Ber. i. 1; יֵאֹרִי Yo. viii. 5; יֵאֹתִי to enjoy, Ber. viii. 6; יָדוֹן Oh. vi. 3, 7; San. viii. 8, 9 (L ed. נִידוֹן Partic.); יָזוּנִי Ket. xiii. 3; תִּלְוֹשׁ Ter. v. 2, 3; יִלְוֹשׁ ib. 1; יִפּוּל, יִפּוּלִי Šab. xix. 5; יִצּוּרִי ib. i. 6; תִּירוּם to be lifted, Ter. v. 2; יִשּׁוּף to rub, t. BM xi. 8.

Infin.: לִידוֹן Giṭ. iii. 4; Ab. iv. 29; לִידוּחַ Miq.

Partic.: גִּיאוּחוֹת Yo. 11 a; גִּידוֹן, נִידוֹן RH i. 2; גִּיּוּחָה RH 16 a; גִּידוּכִין Bez. i. 7; גִּיּוּן Giṭ. xii. 6; גִּיּוּחָה, גִּיּוּחוֹת Ket. xii. 2; גִּיפּוּטִין to move, t. Zab. iv. 6; גִּעּוּר Ab. iii. 4;

נְעוּרִין Ber. 61 b. But with \bar{a} in the preformative: נָדוּן BQ ii. 5; Ya. ix. 3, &c. (cf. 2 Sam. xix. 10); נָלוּז to twist, Kil. ix. 8; נָמוּךְ to be low, ib. iv. 7; נִמְשֹׁשׁוֹת to feel (aged persons who grope their way), Pea viii. 1.¹

178. (ii) *The Intensive Stem*. In the formation of this stem MH has further developed the two methods already found in BH, viz. (a) Hardening of the vowel into the cognate consonants (ו or י) on the analogy of the strong verb, and (b) Reduplication.

(a) Hardening the vowel into a consonant.

(a) Into ו. Pi'el: בָּיֵן to make firm, direct, Ber. ii. 1; בָּוֵנוּ MQ ii. 3; יָבֵן ib.; יָבֻנוּ Ber. v. 1; לָבֵן Kil. v. 1; לָבֻנוּ to remove thorns, MQ 5 a; מָוֵנוּ BM 90 b; מִתְּוֹכוֹת to halve (from תוֹךְ), j. Br. i. 1. Pu'al: מְבֵן Toh. iii. 2; מְבֻנָּה Kel. xxviii. 7; מְבֻנוֹת Makš. ii. 5; מְתוֹכֶת j. Ber. i. 1. Nithpa'el: נִתְבָּנוּ BQ iv. 6; נִתְבָּוֵנוּ ib. viii. 1; מְוֻדָּנוּ to join together, San. v. 5; נִתְקוֹנָה Šebi. iv. 2.²

179. (β) Into י. Pi'el. Perf.: בָּיֵשׁ to shame, BQ iii. 10; טָיֵל to walk, Suk. 28 b; בָּיֵר to decorate; סָיֵר to plaster, 'AZ iii. 7; טָיִבָה to improve, j. Šebi. iv. 2; וַיִּפְתֵּם, וַיִּפֹּת to forge, j. So. vii. 3; קָיִמָה to confirm, fulfil, BQ iii. 9; קָיִמוּ 'Ed. i. 3; הָיִבוּ to declare guilty, Šab. xii. 3; הָיִבְתֶּם Exod. R. 32; תִּסְיֵעַ to accompany, assist, Šab. 104 a; גִּירָנִי (impérat.) ib. 31 a; לִסְיֵף to destroy, Gen. R. 100; לִפְיֵסוּ to appease, Ber. 28 b; מְבֵיֵשׁ BQ viii. 1; מְחִיֵּב Šab. x. 6; מְחִיבֵין Dam. i. 3; מַעֲיִין to look, Ber. 55 a; מְדִירֵין to cause cattle to dwell on a field, to manure, Šebi. iii. 1; מְדִינָת, מְדִינֵין Qoh. R. ii. 8.

Pu'al: מְגִידָר cut up (from גִּיד artery), Yeb. xvi. 3; מְוִיף Git. x. 6; מְצִיֵּן marked, t. Šeq. i. 5; מְקִיָּים BM 7 a; מְקִיָּמִין Neg.

¹ Another reading has מְשֹׁשׁוֹת; cf. the comment of R. Simson, *ad loc.*

² The verb נוּל, So. i. 6; Naz. iv. 5, &c., cited by Albrecht (§ 114 b) does not belong here. It is a MH modification of the BH verb נָבַל; cf. above, § 58.

Nithpa'el: נִתְּפֵיֵל to be manured, Šebi. iv. 2; נִתְּפִיבָה to be improved, ib.; נִתְּפִיִּים Ber. 33 a; נִתְּפִיִּי j. Dam. i. 1; יִתְּפִיִּים Git. i. 3; נִתְּפִיִּירָתִי Yeb. 47 a; אֶתְּפִיִּיר, תִּתְּפִיִּיר Qid. iii. 7; לְהִתְּפִיִּיף Git. ii. 4; לְהִתְּפִיִּיר Yeb. 47 a; מִתְּפִיִּישׁ BQ viii. 1; מִתְּפִיִּיב Ab. iii. 4; מִתְּפִיִּימַת ib. iii. 9.

Po'lel: יָעוֹרֵר to awake, MQ i. 5; לְבוֹנוֹ Ex. R. 15; לְרוֹמֵם to exalt, Pes. x. 5 (liturgical passage); מְכוֹנוֹ to wheel round (denom. of מִכְנֵי *μηχανή*, Yo. iii. 10. L has, perhaps, correctly, מְכִינוֹ, Pol'al); Makš. iv. 1 מְעוֹפֶפֶת to fly, Hul. xii. 3; מְעוֹרְרִים MŠ v. 15; מְפוֹצֵצֶת

¹ Cf. Koenig, *Lehrgebäude*, i, p. 452 f.

to shatter, Lev. R. 27; מְקוֹנְנֶת to lament, Ket. iv. 4; מְקוֹנְנֹת MQ iii. 9; מְרוֹמְמָתוֹ Ab. vi. 2; מְשׁוֹרְרִים singers, 'Ar. 11 b.

Nithpo'lel: נִתְמוֹטֵטֵי to totter, Ber. 32 b; יִתְעוֹרְרוּ Lev. R. vii. 9; מְשִׁתְּקֶקֶת (imperat.), to wave, 'AZ 24 b; לְהִתְבוֹנֵן BQ 27 b; מְשִׁתְּקֶקֶת to long, Yeb. 62 b; Ab. deRN. i. 7; מְתַמוֹטֵטֵין BM 71 a (cf. Sirach xxxii. 2); מְתַפּוּצֵץ Qid. 30 b.

182. (β) Doubling of the whole root. This is more frequent in MH than in BH; cf. above, § 108.

Pilpel: וְעָעָה, וְעָעָהּ to shake, 'Or. i. 3; לָגַלַּג to mock, Šab. 30 b; נָעָנְעָה to shake, Suk. iii. 9; נָעָנְעָתִי Yeb. 121 a; יִנְעָנְעֵנִי Šab. xx. 5; יָקַעָעָה to tattoo, Mak. iii. 6; יִשְׁלֵשְׁלֵהּ to let down by chain, Šebi. iv. 10; מָטַלְטַל to move, 'Er. x. 4; מָטַלְטַלָּת BB iv. 3; מָלַגְלַג Ber. 39 a; מְנַפְנֶפֶת Oh. viii. 5; מְשַׁלְשֵׁלִים BQ 82 b.

Pulpel. Participle only: מְחוּלְחָלָת shaken, Kel. x. 3; מְשׁוּלְשָׁלָת ib. viii. 1; מְנוּנְרוֹת (= מְנוּנְרֹת), well harrowed, Men. 85 a; מְטוּשְׁטָשׁוֹת rubbed off, Meg. 18 b; מְנוּנְעֵין Be. 25 a.

Hithpalpel: נִדְרָעָעָה to be shaken, BQ 82 b; נִתְנַמְנָמוּ to slumber, Pes. x. 8; תִּטְמָטֵם (= תִּתְטָטֵם), to be kneaded through, Hal. iii. 1; מְתַחֲלָחֵלִים Yo. i. 7; לִיטְלִיטֵל Kel. xv. 1; מְטַלְטִלִין Šab. iii. 6; מְתַחֲלָחֵלִים Miq. iv. 3.

(iii) *The Causative Stem.*

183. *Hiph'il:* הִמְיַר to change, Temu. i. 1; הִרְיָהָה to smell, Yo. viii. 4; הִקְיָצָתִי to awaken, Num. R. 10; הִבְנִיתָהּ to understand, Šab. 31 a; הִנְחָתָהּ to give rest, ib. 152 b; הִעֲדָתָהּ to testify, Yeb. vii. 3 (L הִעֲדִירוֹתָהּ); הִעֲדָתִי Yeb. 99 b; הִעֲדָנִי Mak. 3 a; הִמְכָּתִי to lower, t. Naz. iv. 7; הִצָּצָתִי to gaze, Hul. 47 b; הִרְחָתִי Yo. 39 b; הִשְׁבָּתָהּ to reply, Sifra (Weiss), 113 a; הִשְׁבַּתְנִי Pes. 69 a.

For the omission of the separating vowel before the affirmative in BH, cf. Ges.-K., § 72 k.

Imperf.: יִזְיֹנִי, יִזְיֹנִי to move, Be. iii. 5; יִמְיְרֵנִי Tem. i. 1; יִשְׁיבֵנו Šebu. iii. 8; יִפִּיחַ ib. iv. 5; יִפִּיחַ to blow, Šab. 49 a; יִשְׁיבֵנו Ber. v. 1; יִבְיֵאוּ Naz. iv. 6. Imperat.: הִבֵּא Pes. vi. 2; הִפֵּג to cool,

Yo. i. 7; הָעִידוּנִי Šebu. iii. 8; הָרִיעוּ Ta'a. ii. 10. Infin.: לְהָמִיר Tem. i. 1; לְהַמִּיתוּ San. 53 a; לְהָסִיט Zab. iii. 3.

Partic.: מְבִינִי Hag. ii. 1; מְסִיט Zab. v. 1; מְטִיבָה San. vii. 10; מְוִיֵּן Ab. iii. 17; מְמִירִין Tem. i. 1.

184. *Hoph'al*: הוּחַלָּה to occur, Ber. 31 a; הוּרָמָה to be lifted, Hal. ii. 8; יוּנָף to be waived, Mid. iii. 4; תוּרַח to be rinsed, Makš. iv. 3; תוּצֵץ to sprout forth, Qid. 66 a; מוּכָן prepared, Be. i. 1; מוּמָר Tem. i. 1; מוּמָרִם Zeb. v. 6; מוּמָתִין San. vi. 2.¹

185. Note 1. As in BH, so in MH some ע"ו roots are found also in פ"י forms. Thus, טוב to be good = יטב; נוק to suck = ינק; קוץ to awake = יקץ. So also in ע"ע forms: דוך to crush = דכך; זוח to move = זחח; זול to be cheap = זלל; חוץ to separate = חצץ; מוש to feel = משש.

186. Note 2. The verb נוח forms also a causative by assimilation, as in BH, in the sense 'to lay down', e.g. הִנִּיחַ BB ix. 1; מִנְּחָה Ber. viii. 4; הִנְחִינֵהוּ So. ix. 6; מוֹנִיחַ BM iii. 4; מוֹנִיחַת Qid. 66 a.

187. Note 3. The verb נום (נאם BH) to speak, shows some strange forms, probably of an artificial character. Thus נִמְיָ he spoke, Zeb. iv. 5; נִמְיָת, נִמְיָת she spoke, Yeb. xvi. 7; נִמְיָתִי I spoke, ib.; נִמְיָנוּ (נִמְיָנוּ L) we spoke, Git. vi. 7; but also נָם, נָמְתִי t. Naz. iv. 7; נָאֲמְתִי Sifre Num. xix. 2; נָאֵם, ibid. xxviii. 2.

(6) VERBS ע"ע.

188. The tendency, already strong in BH, to make these verbs approximate to the standard of the strong trilateral type is carried still further in MH. Biliteral forms are the regular type

¹ In the curious expression אֹהִיָּה אוֹבִין, 'AZ iii. 5 (L) the form אוֹבִין seems to be treated as a participle Qal, and should be pointed אוֹבִין. It is probably a scribal expansion of אוֹבִין = אָבִין. הוֹבִירָה, BM. ix. 3, is an Aramaism for הִבִּירָה, from בִּיר to be fallow, due to the influence of the following Aram. form אוֹבִיר. L has the correct reading הִבִּירָה in BM. In 'Ar. ix. 1 L is defective.

only in the causative stem and, to a smaller extent, in the Imperf. Qal and Niph'al. In the other parts of the Qal and the Niph'al trilateral forms predominate. In the Intensive Stem they are used exclusively.

Aram., on the other hand, has preserved and accentuated more strongly than any other Semitic language the natural affinity of the ע"ע verbs with the ע"ו verbs. The biliteral forms of the ע"ע predominate in Aram.

189. (i) *The Simple Stem.*

Qal. Perfect. Trilateral: חָצַצוּ to divide, Oh. xv. 4; מָדַד to measure, 'AZ v. 7; פָּקַד to stop, Miq. iii. 2; רָקַס to spit, BQ viii. 6; שָׁגַג to err, Šab. 95 a; רָקַקְתָּ Yeb. xii. 3; קָצַצְתָּ to cut, BQ 91 b; חָקַקְתָּ to enact a law, Yo. 67 b; טָנְנִי to become moist, Makš. iii. 4; עָמְמִי to become dim, t. Šab. iii. 2; צָלְלִי to clarify, t. Nid. iii. 11; חִנְנִיתָם to offer the Festival sacrifice, Pes. 70 b.

Biliteral: חָג Hag. i. 9; בָּח to cough, 'Er. 99 a; רָק Hag. 9 a; רַבִּי to be many, Šab. i. 7.

Imperfect: יִקְצְצֵנִי to cut, BQ 91 b; יִשְׁנֹג Šab. 69 a; יִשְׁלֹל to baste, j. MQ iii. 5. But usually biliteral: יָבֹר to choose, Ab. ii. 1; תָּבֹר Giṭ. v. 9; אָבֹר Ma'a. ii. 6; יָגֹד to cut, Pa. ii. 2; אָגֹד BB 13 a; יַחֲוֶה to cleanse the head, Naz. vi. 3; יָמֹד Ber. 30 b; יָקֹץ BQ x. 2. So Imperat.: גֹּד BB 13 a; בֹּוּף to bend, Ber. 60 b; קוּצִי Ab. deRN. xxxix. 1; but also מְדֹד Yo. 39^a.

Infinit.: לְגַזֵּז to shear, Hul. 138 a; לְגַרֵּר to drag, Kel. v. 7; לְחַצֹּץ Be. iv. 6; לְלוֹחֵתֵן to mix, t. Makš. iii. 7; לְמוֹלֵלֵן to hem, MQ 26 a; לְקַצֹּץ Miq. x. 5; לְקוּצִי (L. קוּצִי) Šebi. iv. 10. Biliteral: לָבוֹז to spoil, Pe. iv. 1, 2; לְחַוֶּה to rub, Naz. 59 a; לָמֹד MŠ v. 9; לָפֹק Kel. xxviii. 2; לָקֹץ 'AZ i. 8.

Participles, only trilateral: בּוֹדֵר San. iii. 1; זוֹמָמֵת, זוֹמָמִין, זוֹמְמִין to give false evidence, Mak. i. 1, 2, 3, &c.;¹ מוֹדֵרִין 'Er. v. 4; רוֹפֶפֶת

¹ From Deut. xix. 19.

to shake, t. Hul. ii. 12 ; שׁוֹתֶת to flow gently, Oh. iii. 5 ; נָמוּם to level, Hul. 59 a ; רָעַעַר, רָעַעַר to break, Kel. iii. 5 ; צָפוּפִין to press, Ab. v. 5.

190. *Niph'al*. Perf. : נִנְמַם Šebi. i. 8 ; נִנְמַמוּ Bek. vi. 4 ; נָקַק to bind, Naz. ix. 4 ; נָקַצַּן BM ix. 2 ; נִכְפְּפָה 'Ar. 19 a ; נִבְוָה Bik. i. 8 ; נִכְלַל to complete, include, j. So. vii. 4. Biliteral : נִפְמוֹק to decay, Nid. iii. 4 ; נִימְקוּ Bik. i. 8 (L נִימְקוּ).

Imperf. : יִקְצִין 'AZ i. 8 ; יִקְצִין Nid. ii. 1 ; יִקְצִי Nēd. iii. 5 ; but biliteral forms are more common : יָחַם to be hot, Be. ii. 5 ; יִחְמוּ Šab. iii. 5 ; יִמְסוּ to melt ; יִצְנוּ to be cold, Šab. xxii. 4 ; יִצְלוּ to clarify, ib. xx. 2.

With *ō*, instead of *ā*, on the analogy of the ע"ו verbs : יִגְלוּ to roll, Ber. 7 a ; יִחולוּ to be common, Šebi. i. 8 ; יִחמוּ Šab. 41 b ;¹ יִפְמוּ (L יִמְקוּ) Ta'a. iii. 8.

Infinitive : לִהְבֵּל to mix, Men. xi. 4 ; לִיָּנוּ BQ ix. 1 ; לִהְפֹּד Dam. ii. 5 ; but also לִחַם Kel. xiv. i.

Participle : נִכְלִין Men. xii. 4 ; נִגְרַר 'Er. x. 11 ; נִגְרֶרֶת Be. ii. 10 ; נִקְצִין Šab. 12 b ; נִמְדְרִין 'Ar. vii. 1 ; נִקְצִי Nēd. iii. 5, but also Biliteral : נִרוֹק to spit, Miq. vii. 1 ; נִימְוֶק Ber. 61 b ; נִימְוֶקִין RH iii. 8.

191. (ii) *The Intensive Stem*.

(a) *Po'el, Po'al, Nithpo'el*: These forms are still more rare in MH than in BH. The following are the only exx. found : מִחְוֶמֶת, מִחְוֶמֶת to dig, cut, Meg. 12 a ; מִסְוֶלֶת to coddle, San. 69 b ; מִסְוֶלֶת Yeb. 76 a ; מִקְוֶץ Miq. x. 4 ; יִסְוֶבֶוּ So. ix. 15 ; יִחְוֶנֶוּ Singer, pp. 46, 280. An example of Po'al may be יִחְוֶנֶוּ So. ix. 15, but this is more probably a Pu'al : יִחְוֶנֶוּ, cf. above, § 126 ; נִתְרוֹעֶעַ Kel. iii. 4 ; iv. 2 (L נִתְרוֹעֶעַ) ; מִתְרוֹסֶם to crush, Hul. 77 a ; מִשְׁתְּוֶיִם to be desolate, Qid. 66 a.

192. (b) *Prel*: בִּרַר 'Er. iv. 5 ; גִּרְרָה Pes. i. 2 ; סִיפֶה to cover,

¹ For יִזְמוּ אֶת עֲצָמָן, L reads correctly יִזְמוּ, Mak. i. 4.

Suk. i. 4; מָרַר to embitter, Pes. x. 5; קִינֵּנוּ to make a nest, Hul. xii. 1; יָרַס 'Uq. ii. 6; יָצַץ 'AZ i. 8; אָצַן, אָקַר to make cold, Pes. 118 a; לָבַר San. 23 b; לָחַם j. Ned. iv. 2; לָפַר to crumble, Pes. 10 b; לַחֲמָה, לַצְנָה Šab. 53 a; מָנַף to caress, San. vii. 6; מָלַק to lick, San. 68 a; מָפַר Pes. ii. 1; מָצַד to move to the side, Yo. 55 a; מָנַרַת t. Šab. vi. 1; מְסַנֵּת to sift, Kel. ii. 5; מְסַבֵּין ib. i. 7. Biliteral only: מְחַמֵּין Yo. iii. 5 (unless this is Hiph'il: מְחַמִּין), and perhaps also מְלַמֵּת = מְלַמֶּת Pa. ix. 3 (L מלכה).

193. *Pu'al*: מְזוּמָם San. vi. 2; מְזוּפָּפִין pitched, BM 40 b; מְרוּדָר sharpened, Qid. 30 a; מְסוּבֶכֶת BB 25 b; מְסוּבֶכֶת Suk. 8 b; מְצוּדִים BB 99 a; מְצוּנָת Hul. iii. 5; מְרוּדָרִין, מְרוּדָר beaten, Miq. vii. 7. Biliteral only, מְסוּבִין reclining round the table, San. ii. 1, 3, &c.¹

194. *Hithpa'el-Nithpa'el*: הִתְפַּלֵּל, הִתְפַּלֵּל Ta'a. iii. 8; נִתְאַרַר to curse, t. So. xv. 2; נִצְטָן Šab. 129 a; נִתְקַלֵּל to curse, 'Er. 18 a, b; מִתְחַדָּב BQ iv. 6; מִתְחַלֵּל Ab. i. 11; מִתְחַפֵּם ib. ii. 10.

(c) Reduplicated Forms.

195. *Pilpel*: דִּקְדַּק to be thin, exact, Ber. ii. 3; הִרְהַרְתִּי to reflect, Hul. 37 b; פִּלְפִּל to search, t. BB vii. 6; קִלְקֵל to damage, corrupt, Yeb. x. 2; יִחְרַחַר to bore, 'Uq. iii. 11; תִּכְשֹׁשׁ to shake, Hul. ii. 6; יִצְחָצְחוּ to polish BM 84 a; יִקְלָלוּ Hul. i. 1; לִחְמֹט j. 'Or. iii. 2; לִכְסֹס to chew, Nid. ix. 7; לִמְשֹׁשׁ to feel, BM 21 b; מְהַרְהַר Ber. iii. 4; מְכַלְכֵּל to maintain, Naz. i. 1; מְסַלֵּס to wave the hair, ib.; מְסַכְסֶכֶת to intertwine, t. BQ vi. 22; מְסַלְסֵל Ned. xi. 11; מְשַׁמְשִׁין BQ ii. 4.

Pulpal: מְגוּלָּלוֹת Pes. 7 a; מְגוּלָּלִין 'AZ ii. 7; מְרוּדָל to hang down, Ker. iii. 8; מְרוּדָלִין Hul. ix. 7; מְצוּחָחוֹת Lev. R. 1.

Nithpael: נִתְגַּלָּל Šab. xi. 3; נִתְגַּלָּלָה Šebu. vii. 8; נִידָלְדָל to be impoverished, So. ix. 15; יִתְמַקֵּם Ta'a. 25 b; יִתְקַלָּל Men. xi. 1; מִתְקַלָּל Dam. iii. 6; מִתְפַּרְפֵּר t. Makš. iii. 8.

(iii) *The Causative Stem*. Biliteral; triliteral forms are very rare.

¹ The sing. is always מָסַב, in Hiph'il; cf. below, § 196.

196. *Hiph'il*: הִפֵּר Nēd. x. 1; הָקַל to make light, be lenient, MŠ iii. 2; הִחֲלִי¹ to begin, Tam. ii. 2, 3; vi. i; הִסְבִּי Ber. vi. 6; הִיטְוִי to convict of false evidence, San. xii. 5; הִרְעוּתִי Qid. iv. 14. Without separating vowel (cf. BH הִתְלַף Jud. xvi. 10; Ges.-K., § 67 dd, and above, § 183): הִמְסִיף Deut. R. 2; הִעֲזִיף to strengthen, Ber. 62 b; הִעֲזִיב BB 131 a; הִיטְלִיף Yeb. 88 a. Triliteral: הִקְטִינִי Suk. 28 a.

Imperf.: יָחַם Be. ii. 5; יָסַב Pes. x. i; יָפַר Nēd. x. 5; יָצַן j. Hor. ii. 5; יָקַל Ber. ix. 5; יָקַל MŠ iii. 2; יָנִיץ to shine, Meg. ii. 4; יָנְצוּ Šebi. iv. 2; יָנִיפוּ Mak. i. 7; יָרִיצוּ to crush, t. Oh. xviii. end.

Inf.: לְהָחִים Šab. 40 a; לְהָטִין to moisten, Makš. iii. 5; לְהִפֵּר Nēd. x. 3; לְהִקְלֵי Er. iv. 9; לְהִקְרֵי Makš. iv. 2.

Imperat.: הִחֵל j. Ber. v. 2; Singer, p. 46.

Part.: מִחֵל to thin grapes, Pe. iii. 3; מִיחֵל to defile, Ber. 32 a; Dam. vii. 4; מָחַם t. Šab. iii. 7; מְחַמֵּין² Yo. iii. 5; מָטִין (so correctly L for edd. מַטְנִין), Makš. iii. 5; מָצַן j. Hor. ii. 5; מִיצֵר RH ii. 9; מִיטֵל to recline, San. ii. 1, 3; מִסֵּף Šab. vii. 2; מִפִּירִין Nēd. x. 1, 2; מְרִיעָה to do evil, San. vii. 10; מְמַקְמִי to cause decay, Ket. vii. 11; מַצְמַח to restrain (צָמַח), Cant. R. iv. 1; מְחַשֵּׁשׁ to weaken (חָשַׁשׁ) San. 26 a.

197. *Hoph'al*: הוּלִי BB v. 8; הוּמוּ³ San. x. 8; הוּמְנוּ Mak. 3 a (without the separating vowel); הוּחָה BM vi. 3; הוּחָמוּ Šab. iii. 4; הוּמַק San. 92 b; הוּסְכָה BB 112 a; הוּרַע Pea vi. 6. Triliteral: הוּנְלִי Ta'a. 21 b; הוּנְקַק BB 170 a; הוּנְקָקוּ Men. 45 b; יוּצַן 'AZ iii. 9; יוּרַע BB x. 6.

מוּדָר j. So. ii. 2; מוּדָרוֹת smashed, San. 82 b; מוּדָר Nēd. viii. 7. Triliteral: מוּבְלָלַת j. Šeq. vi. i end; מוּבְלָל Yo. 54 b.

¹ Elsewhere always the denominative of הִתְחִיל = הִתְחִילָה; cf. § 92. So ib. vi. 3.

² The traditional pronunciation is מְחַמֵּין = מְחַמְמִין, plur. of מְחַמֵּם; cf. § 192; j. Šab. ix. 3.

³ This is the traditional pronunciation, and not הוּלִי, הוּמוּ. Cf. BH הוּמְנוּ, Job xxiv. 24; Ges.-K., § 67 v.

(7) VERBS ל"ל.

198. The inflection of these verbs follows on BH lines. The interchange of forms between these verbs and verbs ל"ה, already frequent in BH (Ges.-K., § 75 m, n, ff.), becomes more frequent in MH. Sometimes we find forms combining both ל"ל and ל"ה types. Nevertheless, the distinction between these two classes has been clearly preserved in MH. Many of the ל"ה forms in ל"ל verbs may be ascribed to the negligence and the Aramaizing tendencies of the scribes, as is proved by comparing different texts. MH also shows more frequently than BH the older termination ת for the third fem. sing. in Qal, Niph'al, and Nithpa'el (cf. Ges.-K., § 74 g).

199. *Qal*. Perfect: יִצָּא Yo. v. 3; יִצָּא BM ii. 1. The fem. wavers between יִצָּאָה, יִצָּאת (so usually in L and other Palestinian texts), יִצָּאתָה and יִצָּתָה; cf. Šab. vi. 1, 3; xi. 6; Pes. v. 7; Yeb. xvi. 1; Toh. iii. 1. So קָרָאָה and קָרָאתָה Yeb. xii. 3, in various texts. הִטָּאתִי Yo. iii. 8, but also קָרִיתִי ib. i. 6; מִצָּאִי Yeb. xvi. 6; מִצָּאִי ib. xvi. 7, but also מִצִּינִי Ber. vii. 3; Kil. iii. 7; קָרִינִי Ber. i. 1, especially in later texts. Imperf., as in BH.

Infinitive: לִקְרוֹת Ber. i. 1, but also לִקְרֹאוֹת MŠ v. 9 (L), as Judges viii. 1.

Imperative: קְרֵא Yo. i. 6; שִׁנָּא Ab. i. 10.

Participle: קוֹרֵא Yo. i. 6; קוֹרֵן ib.; Ber. i. 1 (cf. Psalm xcix. 6); יוֹצֵא Šab. v. 2; יוֹצָאָה ib. v. 4; but also יוֹצָאת Kil. iv. 6; נוֹשֵׂאת Šebu. vii. 8; יוֹצֵאִין, יוֹצָאוֹת Šab. v. 4; נוֹשֵׂאִין MQ i. 7; נָשׁוּי married, Yeb. iii. 7 (L has the mixed form נָשְׂאוֹי, cf. Psalm xxxii. 1); קָרוּי Ter. iii. 7; סְמוּיָה blind, hidden, Qid. 24 b.

200. *Niph'al*: נִטְמָא Pes. i. 6; נִטְמָאת Ter. viii. 2; So. vi. 2; נִשְׂאת to be married, Yeb. vii. 2 (also spelt נִיפֵת ib. vii. 3, 6, and often in L and the Talmud); נִסְמִית to be blind, Zeb. vii. 2; נִטְמָאת Ter. viii. 2; נִטְמָאני Pes. 78 b; נִמְצִינו.

The imperf. as in BH.

Infin. : לִינִישָׂא Yeb. ii. 10; לְהִיקְרָא 'Ed. v. 6 (L לִיקְרוֹת); and the mixed form לְהַפְרָאוֹת Ab. iv. 1.

Partic. : נִשְׂאָה, or נִישָׁת Ket. i. 1; נִקְרָאת Meg. i. 1; נִקְרָאִין, also נִקְרִין Git. ix. 5.

201. *Piel*: מִילָא, אִמְלָא Pa. vii. 4; אִטְמָאָנָה, אִטְמָאָה Ter. viii. 11; יִטְמָאָה ib. 12; יִמְכָּאָנָה Šab. ii. 4; כִּימָא BQ viii. 1; מִילָא (imperat.) Be. iii. 8; מְמָלָא Pa. vii. 5; מְמָלָאִין ib. 11 (L מְמָלִין and so often, 'Er. viii. 7, &c.); מְקָרָא to read to, Suk. iii. 10; מְקָרִין ib.; Bik. iii. 6 (L also מְקָרָאִים, beside מְקָרִין); מְקַפָּא to congeal, Ma'a. i. 7; מְחַפֵּין = מְחַפְּאִין to hide, Šab. 25 b.

The Infin. has mixed forms: לְמַלְאוֹת Ket. i. 10; לְרַפְּאוֹתוֹ to heal, BQ viii. 1. So in BH, cf. Ges.-K., § 74 h.

Pu'al: מְדוּכָּאִין to crush, Ket. 8 b; מְקוּרָאִין Num. R. 13.

202. *Nithpa'el*: נִסְתַּמָּא 'Ar. 17 b; נִתְמַלְאָה Pes. v. 5; לִיטְמָא Yo. 38 b; מִיטְמָא 'Uq. i. 1; מִיטְמָאָה Naz. iv. 3; מִיטְמָאִין (also מִתְטַמָּאִין) Kel. ii. 1; מִתְחַטָּא Ta'a. iii. 8; מִתְרַפָּאִין, also מִתְרַפֵּין 'AZ ii. 2.

203. *Hiph'il*: הִשְׂיֵאוֹ to move, 'AZ ii. 5; בְּרִיא to become healthy, Šab. xix. 5; יִקְפִּיאָנָה to ladle off, Ter. ii. 11; מְמַצֵּיא Hag. 5 a, but מְמָרִין to fatten, (BH מְרִיא) Šab. xxiv. 3.

Hoph'al: מוּפְלָא distinguished, Hor. i. 4.

(8) VERBS ל"ה

204. These verbs also conform to the BH rules. As in BH (Ges.-K., § 75 rr), ל"ה verbs sometimes assume ל"א forms. This happens usually in the third sing. and plur. of the perf. Qal when they have pronominal suffixes attached to them, and further, in the third fem. sing. perf. Niph'al, and in the fem. sing. of the Partic. Niph'al. The older termination ת־ for the third fem. sing. of the perf. Qal is regularly found in Palestinian, and sometimes also

in other texts. Cf. the ל"א verbs above, § 199, and Ges.-K., § 75 m.

205. *Qal*. Perfect: וָכַה to acquire, BM i. 3; שָׁהָה to tarry, Šebu. ii. 3; נָבְהָה (L נבַת) to collect, Ket. iv. 1; וָכַתָּה (L וכת) BM i. 4; כָּבַתָּה to extinguish, Šab. 21 a, but כָּבַת j. Yo. ii. 3; כָּהַתָּה to dim, Qid. 24 b; עָלָתָה (L עָלַת) to go up, Zeb. ix. 1; פָּשַׁתָּה (L פשַת) to increase, Neg. iv. 9; שָׁפַתָּה (L שפת) to be quiet, Nid. iv. 4; שָׁתָה to drink, Pa. ix. 5; שָׁרַת to be loose, Qoh. R. vii. 2; צָבַת to swell, j. BQ vii. 1.

The original third radical י reappears in the third sing. and plur. of the perfect with suffixes: טָלְיִיהַ to patch, Kel. xxiv. 17; פָּרְדִּיּוֹ to redeem, Pea iv. 8. Often, however, this י is changed into א, especially in Babylonian texts: עֲשָׂאָה Suk. i. 1; עֲשָׂאָךְ Ter. viii. 1; כָּוְאוֹ to burn, BQ viii. 1; אֶפְאָה (L אפייה) to bake, MŠ ii. 3; cf. below, § 216, and above, §§ 56, 58.

יָבִיתָ Ber. i. 5; לָוִיתָ to borrow, BB 6 a; בָּרִי to invent, Ned. 10 a; נָשִׁינוּ to forget, ib. 50 b; צָלוּ to roast, Pes. v. 9.

Imperf.: יִלָּקֶה to be smitten, BM iii. 12; יִרְעֶה to feed, Yo. vi. 1. Jussive: אַל תַּעַשׂ do not make, Ab. i. 8; ii. 12.

Infin.: לִקְחֹתּוֹ to take fire, Šab. viii. 7 (BH); לִרְדּוֹתּוֹ to chastise, Yo. 40 b.

Imperat.: צִלֵּה Pes. vii. 2; שִׁנֵּה to repeat, Nid. 5 b; לֹוִי to borrow, Be. 15 b.

Partic. Active: הוֹלֵךְ to utter, San. x (xi.) 1; וּלֹכֶה 'Ed. ii. 9; חוֹתֵה Yo. iv. 4; טוֹה to spin, Ket. vii. 6; דוֹחִין to push off, Oh. vii. 6; חוֹפִין to cover, Hul. iii. 7; פוֹדִין to redeem, Git. iv. 6; שוֹרִין to soak, Šab. i. 5.

206. A few participles are found in an adjectival form with *ā* in the first syllable: וָכָה 'Ed. ii. 10 (L; elsewhere always וּלֹכֶה); זָכִין in the dictum: זָכִין לְאָדָם שְׂלֵא בְּפָנָיו וְאִין חָבִין לְאָדָם אֶלָּא בְּפָנָיו — one can confer an advantage upon a person in his absence, but one cannot confer a disadvantage upon a person, except in his

presence, 'Er. vii. 11; Git. i. 6. The form זָכִין may perhaps be due to assonance with חָבִין. So זָכִין Yo. ii. 3; זָכוֹת Git. vi. 2, in L, for זֹכִין, זֹכוֹת in other texts. Further, בָּבָה, fem. בָּבָה to be extinguished, Šab. 151b; בָּלָה to come to an end, T^{er}. vi. 7; בָּלִין San. 17a; בָּרָה וְרָבָה fruitful and multiplying (a standing expression, derived from Gen. i. 28); פָּרִין וְרָבִין Šab. 107b; Ab. d^eRN. xxxvii. 2, 3.

Partic. Passive: טָוִי Kil. ix. 8; צָפִי to see, Ab. iii. 15; רָאוִי fit, Nid. vi. 4; בָּרוּיָה to dig, Kel. iii. 5; שְׁבוּיִים to capture, Š^eq. ii. 5; שָׁרִיָה to dwell, Ab. iii. 2.

207. *Niph'al*. The third fem. sing. of the perfect is identical in form with the fem. sing. of the Participle. They usually both end in יֵית, or יֵת in L, as in the ל"א verbs (§ 200).

Perfect: גִּהְנִית to enjoy, BQ ii. 2; נִפְדִּית Ket. iii. 2; נִשְׁבִּית נִמְנִינוּ, נִמְנִית (נִעֲשִׂתָה) Er. v. 6; Šab. xi. 6 (L נִעֲשִׂתָה); to count, Pes. ix. 10; נִפְנִיתִי to have leisure, Ab. d^eRN. xxv. 3; נִשְׁבִּיתִי Ket. ii. 5; נִעֲנִיתִי to be humble, Ber. 28a; נִעֲנָה Z^{eb}. 57a; נִעֲנִי to answer, Qid. 40b; נִימְחוּ to wipe out, dissolve, Toh. iii. 1; נִשְׂרוּ to soak, Šab. xxii. 4.

Imperf.: יִדְחָה Meg. 5b; חִפְּנָה, אִפְּנָה Ab. ii. 4; יִפְרוּ Ter. v. 1; הִנְצִלָה Šab. iii. 3; written *plene* יִצְלוּ ib. i. 10; so יִשְׁוּרוּ ib. i. 5.

Partic.: נִדְחָה Meg. 5b; נִפְדָּה MŠ iii. 10; נִתְלָה, נִתְלִית (L נִתְלִית), נִתְלִין to hang, San. vi. 4; נִכְסָה, נִכְסִין to cover, ib. ii. 1; נִבְנִית to build, ib. x. 6; נִעֲשִׂית Pa. iii. 7; נִקְנִית to acquire, Qid. i. 1; נִכוּת Ket. 5b.

Infin.: לִיגְבוֹת BM 59a; לִיהָנוֹת Ket. vii. 1; לִיעֲשׂוֹת 'Ed. v. 6; לִיפְנוֹת to ease oneself, Šab. 82a.

The Intensive Stem is regular, as in BH.

208. *Piel*: וִיבָה BB viii. 6; וִינָתָה to commit fornication, San. vii. 2; לִיבָה to kindle a flame; לִיבָתָה BQ vi. 4; עִירָה to pour out, Yo. v. 4; דִּימוּ to imagine, ib. iii. 2; פִּתִּיתִי to seduce, Ket. iii. 9.

יִרְבָּה to make acceptable, Yo. viii. 9; יִתְפָּה to cover, Šebi. iv. 5.

נָפֶה (imperat.) to sift, Men. 85 a; לְיִפּוֹת to make fair, good, BB vii. 2; לְעָרוֹת MŠ iii. 10; מְרַדֶּה, מְרַדֵּין to cause to hop, Šab. xviii. 2; מְכַסֶּה Ket. vi. 5; מְעַרֶּה MŠ iii. 13; מְקַרֶּה to cover a ceiling, Suk. i. 8.

209. *Pu'al*: יוֹפִי to be made good, Pea vi. 6 (cf. above, § 126).

Partic.: מְהוּזָה, L מְהוּזָה worn out (מחה = מחה), cf. L נִימְחוּ = נִימְחוּ Toh. iii. 1; Kel. xxiv. 17; מְנוּדָה excommunicated, MQ iii. 1; מְנוּפָה, מְנוּפָה sifted, Men. vi. 7; מְעוּבָה thickened, Suk. ii. 2; מְעוּשָׁה forced, Git. ix. 8; מְרוּבָה, מְרוּבִים, מְרוּבוֹת many, Hag. i. 5.

210. *Nithpa'al*: נִדְבָה San. 30 a; נִתְנַסָּה, נִתְנַסָּה to be tried, Ab. v. 3; נִתְגַּלְתָּה to uncover, Suk. iv. 10; נִתְלַבְתָּה Šab. 37 a; נִתְפַתְתָּה Ket. iv. 1; but also נִשְׁתַּטִּית she is become insane, Yeb. xiv. 1; נִצְטְווּ, נִצְטְווּ to command, Qid. 38 a, b; נִשְׁתַּחֲוּ to be delayed, RH iv. 4; נִתְעַנִּי to afflict, 'Er. 41 a; נִתְנַאָּה to become beautiful, RH. 26 a; נִתְעַלָּה to be elevated, Šab. 33 b; נִתְיַפֵּי Ta'a. 23 b; נִתְקַשֵּׁי to be hardened, t. Nid. vi. 4; נִתְקַפְּסוֹת Ber. iii. 4; מְתַכֶּסֶה Ket. v. 8; מְתַכֶּסֶּין Ta'a. i. 1; מְתַעַנֶּה ib. iii. 3, 4.

The Causative Stem is exactly as in BH.

211. *Hiph'il*: הִלִּיחַ to lend, BM v. 1; הִתְנָה to stipulate, Ket. ix. 1; הִתְרַי to warn, Mak. i. 12; הִרְצַתִּי to discourse, t. Nid. vi. 6; הִרְשַׁנִּי to permit, Hag. 14 b.

Imperat.: הַעֲלֵם, הַעֲלֵם MŠ iii. 1; הִשְׁנִינִי teach me, Lam. R. i. 6.

Infin.: לְהַקְוֹת to collect water, t. Šeq. i. 2; with elision of the ה (cf. above, § 143); לְמַחוֹת to object, BM x. 6 = לְהַמְחוֹת; לְשַׁהוֹת = לְהַשְׁהוֹת 'Er. x. 5.

Partic.: מְמַחֶה to wipe, cleanse, BB v. 10; מְמַחֶה, מְמַחֵין j. Pes. viii. 5; מְשַׁקֵּין to give to drink, 'Ed. v. 6; מְשַׁהֵין Nid. 31 a; מְתַעֶה to lead astray, San. 55 a.

Note.—The denominative Hiph'il of עָנִי poor, preserves the י in the sing.: הִעָנִי 'Ar. iv. 2; יַעֲנִי Šeq. iii. 2; נִעַד. ix. 4, but plur.: הִעָנִי Ber. 33 a; יַעֲנִי Me'il. 17 a.

Hoph'al: הוּמְנָה t. Pes. vii. 2; הוּקְשָׁה Num. R. 16; הוּרְצָה Yo.

7 a; הוֹרָאִי j. MQ iii. 5; הוֹשִׁיׁוּ to be like, Šab. 15 a; הוֹרְשִׁיתָ Hag. 13 a (from Sirach).

Partic. : מוֹמָחָה expert, Bek. iv. 4; מוֹפְנָה free, Yeb. iii. 5; מוֹטְעִין in error, RH 25 a; מוֹטָה bent, Kel. iv. 3; מוֹטִין ib. x. 1; מוֹטָה Oh. ix. 11; מוֹטוֹת ib. xv. 3.

212. Note.—The verb הִיהָ has in the imperf. Qal the following shortened forms : יְהָ Yo. i. 3; יָהָא, יָהָא Naz. iii. 6.¹ יְהִי Kil. iv. 5 (L often יהוא, cf. Qoh. xi. 3). The Imperat. is formed from הוּה : הִי Ab. i. 4 (cf. BH Gen. xxvii. 29; Isa. xvi. 4); plur. : הִי ib. ii. 3. The partic. is always הוֹהָ Šab. vi. 6, 10; 'Er. i. 10, as already in BH : Qoh. ii. 22; Neh. vi. 6. Examples of the Pi'el, causing to be, are found in the partic. only : מְהוֹה Ket. 40 b, but also מְהַיֶּה Qid. 58 a and parallels.

The rest of the verb is regular, and even for the forms given above, the regular forms are also found.

Note also the jussive forms יְהִי, יָהִי Ab. iii. 10, &c.

(9) VERBS WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

213. The object of a verb can be expressed in MH, as in BH, by a suffix. The phonetic rules governing the modification of the verb when it assumes a pronominal suffix, are the same in MH as in BH. The following points may be noted :

The third sing. imperf. usually inserts the so-called *nun energeticum* before the suffix of the third sing. masc. and fem. (cf. Ges.-K., § 58 i).

In ל"ה verbs the original י reappears before the suffix in the third sing. and plur. of the perfect Qal, or is softened into נ (cf. § 205).

These suffixes are used in MH somewhat less frequently than in BH, their place being taken by אַת. The most common suffixes

¹ These forms also occur sometimes in Aram.; cf. Dalman, § 73 (p. 354); Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 183 (8), but they are more common in MH.

are those of the third person sing. and plur. The suffixes of the first person are also fairly common, especially in the sing. The suffix of the second person sing. is much rarer, and that of the second person plur. is exceedingly rare, just as in BH.

Examples of Verbs with Suffixes.

(1) Suffix of the First person.

214. Sing.: מָצָאתִי to find, Yeb. xvi. 7; נִשְׁכַּנִּי to bite, ib. 6; עָקַצְתָּנִי to sting, Ab. d'RN. i. 7; נִשְׁאַתְנִי to marry, Ket. ii. 1; קָדַשְׁתָּנִי to betroth, Qid. iii. 3; דָּנַתִּינִי to judge; חִשְׁדָּתִינִי to suspect, Šab. 117 b; הִשְׁמֹשְׁנִי to serve, Git. vii. 7; יִירָשְׁנִי BB viii. 6; הוֹצִיאִנִי to bring forth, Ber. 60 a; גִּיִּירִנִי to make a proselyte, Šab. 31 a.

Plur.: נִגְאָלָנוּ to redeem; הִגִּיעָנוּ, הִגִּיעָנוּ to cause to reach, Pes. x. 5; לִפְדָּתָנוּ to teach, Ber. ii. 8; יִלְפָדָנוּ Pes. 48 b; הִעֲמִידָנוּ to place; הִצִּילָנוּ to deliver, Ber. 17 a; רָחַקָנוּ to remove; דִּשְׁנָנוּ to fatten, ib. 29 a.

(2) Suffix of the Second person.

215. Sing.: מָכַרְךָ to sell; נָתַתְךָ to give, Ter. viii. 1; הִגִּיעְתְּךָ 'Ar. viii. 1. ל"ה verbs: עָשָׂאתְךָ to make, Ter. viii. 1; הִנָּאתְךָ to give pleasure, 'AZ 16 b; נִשְׁאַתְתְּךָ Ket. ii. 1; גִּירָשְׁךָ to divorce, Ter. viii. 1; קִידַשְׁתְּךָ Qid. iii. 1; יִבְרַכְךָ to bless, Meg. iv. 10; יִקְרִיבְךָ to bring near; יִרְחַקְךָ 'Ed. v. 9; אָרַאתְךָ to show, Qid. iii. 2; נַעֲשֶׂךָ 'Ed. v. 6.

Plur.: The following are the only exx. found: לְהִקְיָמְכֶם to raise; לְהַחְיֹתְכֶם to revive, Ber. 58 b; cf. Singer, p. 319. (Contrast with four times אֶתְכֶם in the following finite verbs.)

(3) Suffix of the Third Person.

216. Sing. Masc. Perfect: שָׁכַחוּ to forget, Pea vii. 7; סִיִּירוּ to plaster; כִּיִּירוּ to decorate, 'AZ iii. 7; הִשְׁיִאוּ to move, ib. ii. 8; הִכָּהוּ to strike, Pea iv. 8; הִרְאָהוּ Kil. vi. 4; כִּוּוּאוּ to burn, BQ viii. 1; צִלָּאוּ to roast, Pes. v. 9; סִיעֲרָתוּ to carry off by storm, Kil. v. 7; גִּנְבָּהוּ

to steal; **הִבֵּיתוּ** Ned. iii. 2; **טָאָתוּ** to spin, Z^b. 79 b; **נָתַתוּ** Šebu. vii. 7; **הֵבִיאוּ** to bring, MŠ v. 12; **שָׁבְחוּהוּ** Pea vii. 7; **רָאוּהוּ** to see, RH iii. 1; **הוֹלִיכוּהוּ** to lead; **הֵרְוִיחוּהוּ** to return; **נָתַנוּהוּ** 'Er. iv. 1; **הִטְרִינוּהוּ** to dismiss; **רָאִינוּהוּ** to leave, So. ix. 6.

Imperfect: **יַשִּׁיבֵנִי** to answer, Ber. v. 1; **יִכְסֶנִּי** to cover, Šab. iv. 2; **יִנְיָחֵנִי** Pes. i. 3; **יִסְפִּידֵנִי** to lament, MQ i. 5; **אֶלְקָטֵנִי** to gather, Kil. v. 6, but also **תִּתְּנֵהוּ**, **תִּנְנֵהוּ** Šebu. vi. 2; **יִחַפֵּהוּ** to cover, Šebi. iv. 5 (L **יַחַפֵּהוּ**).

Infin.: **לְפַיֵּסוֹ** to appease, Ber. 28 b; **לְיִוְרְשׁוֹ** BB viii. 5; **לְיִתְּנֵוֹ** Šebu. vi. 1.

Partic.: **מַלְבֵּן** to whiten, wash; **מַנְפֵּצוֹ** to beat; **צוֹבֵעוֹ** to dye; **שׁוֹחֲטוֹ** to slay; **מַפְשִׁיטוֹ** to skin, Šab. vii. 2, 3; **מִטְּחוֹ** to bend, Be. i. 4; **חוֹצֵהוּ** to divide, Men. iv. 7; **עוֹקְרֵתוֹ** to uproot; **הוֹפְכֵתוֹ** to overthrow, Ab. iii. 17; **מַאֲכִילָתוֹ** to give to eat; **מְשַׁמְשֵׁתוֹ** Ket. vii. 6; **מְנִיקָתוֹ** to suckle, Git. vii. 6.

Sing. Fem. Perfect: **דָּרְשָׁה** to expound, Ber. i. 8; **קָרְאָה** to read, Meg. ii. 1, 2; **אִירְשָׁה** to betroth; **גִּירְשָׁה** Ket. iv. 3; **אָפְאָה** to bake, MŠ ii. 3 (L **אֶפְיָה**); **עָשָׂאָה** Suk. i. 1, 2; **שָׁפִיּוּהָ** to rub, 'AZ iii. 10; **טָלִיּוּהָ** to patch, Kel. xxiv. 7; **פָּדְאָתָהּ** (L **פָּרִיתָהּ**) to redeem, Hal. iii. 3; **הִקְדִּישָׁתָהּ** to sanctify, ib.; **הִבְתָּהּ** Kel. vii. 11; **עָקְצָתָהּ** to sting, Ab. deRN. i. 7; **קִדְּשָׁתָהּ**, **גִּבְּרָשָׁתָהּ**, **פָּרִיתָהּ** Qid. iii. 8; **הִאֲדִימוּהָ** to be red; **הִלְבִּינוּהָ** Oh. xvii. 4; **מִלְּאָנֶיהָ** to fill; **נִקְבְּנוּהָ** to bore; **הִנְחִנוּהָ** Šab. 29 b.

Imperf.: **יִתְנַנֶּה** Šab. ii. 4; **יִפְקִיעֶנָּה** to break, ib. iii. 3; **יִקְפִּיאֶנָּה** to congeal, Ter. iv. 11; **יִנְיָחֶנָּה**, **יִכְסֶנָּה**, **יִגְלַנֶּה** ib. viii. 8.

Infin.: **לְנַטְעָהּ** to plant, Kil. ii. 4; **לְדוֹקָהּ** to pound, Be. 14 a; **לְנַאֲוָתָהּ** to beautify, Suk. 10 a.

Partic.: **מַנְיָחָהּ** Ber. viii. 3; **מְשִׁיאָהּ** Be. iii. 7; **מְשִׁבִּיעָהּ** Ket. ix. 4; **כּוֹפֶהּ** to force, ib. v. 5; **מְטַהֲרָתָהּ** Hul. iv. 4.

Plur.: **רִיפְקָן** to crush, Šab. xxii. 1; **שִׁינָן** to change, Pes. v. 6; **זָעַזְעוּתָן** to move, Šebi. iii. 7; **פָּדָאן** Pea iv. 8 (L **פָּרִיין**); **נִתְנָתָם** Kin. iii. 6; **הִשְׁלַכְתָּם**, **הוֹלַכְתָּם** to throw; **נִתְתִּים** Šebu. vii. 6; **הִזְיָמוּם** to

convict of false evidence, Mak. i. 5; יִזְרַע to sow, Kil. ii. 10; יָזַם to move, Be. iii. 5; יָשִׁיב Kel. xvi. 1; יָטַל to take, Dam. iv. 4; הֵעִיל to bring up, Suk. ii. 5; לָלֶיְתֵת to mix, t. Makš. iii. 2; Pes. 36 a; לְמַלְלָן to hem, MQ 26 a.

זוֹרַע Kil. ii. 9; מְהַנֵּן to benefit; מַפְסִידֵן to cause loss, Yad. iv. 3; מְבַשְּׂרֵתָן to bring good tidings, So. ix. 6; מְסַעֲיָתָן to assist, Ab. ii. 2.

III. THE NOUN

1. General Survey.

217. As in the other parts of speech, so also in the treatment of the noun MH has followed faithfully the traditions of BH. This is true of the formation of the noun and also of its inflexion. With regard to the formation of the noun, MH has retained the original forms of those BH nouns which it still uses. Further, all its new nouns are formed on the basis of the old BH ground-forms.

Noteworthy features in the MH noun formation are : (a) the wide development of the verbal nouns to replace the old BH infinitive construct, viz. the forms קְטִילָה for the Simple Stem (§ 228); קִיטוּל and קְטִילָה for the Intensive Stem (§§ 237, 241); הִקְטִיל and הִקְטִילָה for the Causative Stem (§§ 251-2); (b) the more frequent use of Reduplication (§§ 244-8); (c) of the *nomen agentis* קְטוּל (§ 235); (d) of the use of the suffixes יָ- , וֹ- , and יִ- (§§ 267-8, 270); (e) and the various forms of the Diminutive (§ 276). But all these forms are based on BH ground-forms, and have parallels in the BH vocabulary.

218. As regards the lexical character of the MH noun, the results of our review of the MH verb (§§ 83 ff.) apply also to the MH noun, except that the noun has borrowed more freely than the verb from Aram., from Greek, and, to a less degree, from Latin. The nouns which are most common in MH are

also found in BH. A number of BH nouns have disappeared in MH, especially nouns of a poetical character or of rare occurrence in BH, though common in Aram. (e.g. בָּעִיר, נָגֶר, &c.). The new MH nouns are usually formed from BH roots, or from old Hebrew roots not found in BH. Many of these MH nouns occur also in Aram., just as many old BH nouns occur in Aram. But the majority of such nouns are native in MH.

219. Even Aram. loan-words usually receive a Hebraic form, like רָמֵץ, וָזוֹ, &c. This has also happened in the case of a number of Gk. and Latin nouns, e.g. אֶצְטָלִית στολή, Yo. vii. 1; קִילִינִרִית κολλύριον, Šab. viii. 1; מַרְגָּלִית margarita, Ab. vi. 9; בִּלָּן βαλανεύς, Šebi. viii. 5; קָרֶן carrus, 'AZ v. 4; אֶכְסֵנְיָא ξένος, Dam. iii. 1, &c.¹

MH also follows BH in the other grammatical changes of the noun, viz. in the formation of the feminine (§§ 277 ff.); the plural (§§ 281 ff.); the dual (more frequent in MH than in BH, § 293); the construct state (§ 380), and the use of the noun with pronominal suffixes.

For the forms of nouns derived from Greek and Latin cf. Albrecht, § 82.

2. Formation of Nouns.

(1) *Nouns derived from the Simple Stem.*

(i) Ground-form *Qaṭl, Qiṭl, Quṭl.*

220. (a) *Qaṭl.* Strong Verb. Concrete: דָּקָל date-tree, Pea iv. 1; וָבֵל manure, BM v. 7; מַטְקָר mattock, j. Be. i. 2; פְּבֵשׁ preserves, Ter. ii. 6; לָבֵר felt, Kil. ix. 8; סָרָק slit, Pes. iii. 2; קָרֵץ partition, Kel. viii. 6; רָמֵץ hot ashes, Neg. ix. 1. With guttural in second or third radical: בַּעֵץ tin, Kel. xxx. 3; יַתֵּר jetty, Oh. viii. 2; שֶׁחַת fodder, Pea ii. 1; נִקְעַת cleft, Kil. v. 4; קָלַח stalk, Pea iii. 3; שִׁבְחָה improvement, MŠ ii. 1.

¹ Cf. Krauss, i, §§ 326 ff.; Albrecht, § 82 g-h.

Abstract : חָנָק strangulation, San. vii. 1 ; פָּרַךְ cracking, 'Or. vii. 7 ; וָעַד assembly, Ab. i. 4 ; צָעַר pain, BQ viii. 1 ; קָבַע permanence, Yo. vi. 3 ; שִׁבַּח praise, ib. iii. 9, 10.

ע' troop, Pes. iii. 7 ; מִיף sword, Šab. vi. 4 ; נָוִי beauty, 'AZ iii. 4.

ע"ע pivot of door, Šab. viii. 6 ; מָם spice, Giṭ. ii. 3 ; גָּם gross, Ab. iv. 7.

ל"ה reed-grass, Šab. viii. 2 ; מָנִי basket, Kel. xii. 3 ; לָחִי cheek, board, 'Er. i. 2.

Fem. : חֲרָבָה knife, Šebi. viii. 7 ; צַחֲנָה offensive matter, T'er. x. 1 ; גִּפֶּה stone fence, Pea iv. 2 ; אִשְׁפָּה dung-hill, BM ii. 3 ; שִׁעוֹנָה wax, Šab. ii. 1 ; שִׁקְיָא irrigation, T'er. x. 11 (L has the masc. form : שִׁקִּי).

221. (b) *Qifl*. אָבֶר limb, Šab. viii. 1 ; חֶלֶשׁ lot, ib. xxiii. 2 ; סִדָּר order, Yo. i. 3 ; סָבֶר countenance, Ab. i. 15 ; עֵסֶק business, ib. iv. 10 ; עֶקֶל bale for pressing, Ma'a. i. 7 ; דִּיר shed, 'Er. iv. 1 ; צִיר hinge, ib. xi. 2 ; בֵּית¹ phlegm ; נִיעַ mucus BQ 3 b ; גֵּץ spark, BQ vi. 6 ; ל"ה excrements, Kel. xvii. 2.

Fem. : אֲכָפָה pressure, BM iii. 7 (with older fem. termination חֲ = אֲכָפָה j. So. v. 2 ; Sirach xlvi. 5, 16) ; צִנְעָה privacy, Pes. i. 3 ; שִׁבְחָה forgetfulness, Pea iv. 6. ל"ה : גְּנוּת disgrace, Pes. x. 4 ; רְשׁוּת permission, ib. iii. 7.

222. (c) *Qutl*. The vowel *u* is represented by ו. בּוֹרֶךְ knee, Kel. xxii. 2 ; דּוּפֵן side, Ker. i. 5 ; חֹמֶשׁ fifth part, Yo. vii. 1 ; סוּרְגַּל lattice work, Mid. ii. 3 ; עוֹיָן point, Tam. iii. 1 ; רוֹטֵב broth, Pes. vii. 2 ; אֹנֶס force, Kil. vii. 2 ; גּוֹדֵל full age ; קוֹטָן minority, Ket. ii. 11 ; בּוֹשָׁר fitness, Y'eb. viii. 4 ; צוּרָה need, Ab. ii. 3 ; מוֹחֵל (or מוֹחֵל) secretion, T'oh. ix. 2 ; פּוֹתַח opening, Kel. xi. 3 ; רוֹבֵעַ quarter, Oh. ii. 1 ; דּוּחַק need, Ab. ii. 3 ; בּוֹרֶחַ force, ib. iv. 22.

ו"ו rim, Kel. xvi. 3 ; בּוֹד sepulchre, MQ i. 6 ; בּוֹי a kind of

¹ From כַּחַח, by assonance with נִיעַ, with which it is always combined.

antelope, Bik. ii. 8; בור uncultivated, Ab. ii. 5; נוח pleasing, ib. 10; ע"ע spitte, Yeb. xii. 6; זול cheapness, MŠ iv. 1; קול lightness, Hal. iv. 7; ל"ה קושי hardness, Nid. iv. 6; שופי ease, ib.; יופי¹ beauty, Suk. iv. 5.

Fem.: זוחמה filth, Ter. x. 1; חולדה mole, Kel. xv. 6; ערלה forbidden fruit of a tree under four years old (cf. Lev. xix. 23), 'Or. i. 1.

ע"ו חובה duty, San. iv. 1; עיקה cavity, Ma'a. i. 7.

ע"ע חובה, hole, Hul. ii. 9; קיפה basket, Kel. viii. 2.

ל"ה חילה limb, looseness, Kel. v. 10.

223. To this ground-form belong also nouns in which the characteristic vowel has been moved forward to the second radical: Qaṭl, דבש honey, Ter. xi. 3; נמר completion, Šab. xxii. 2; צבת tongs, Ab. v. 6; ל"ה הבאי (הווי) vanity, Ned. iii. 1; תשאי modesty, privacy, Šeq. v. 6; כדאי worthy, Nid. 9 b; פנאי leisure, 'AZ v. 6; תנאי condition, Qid. iii. 4.

Qitl: באר well, 'Er. x. 14; זאב wolf, BQ i. 4. Fem.: ברישה leek, Šab. viii. 5.² Cf. Ges.-K., § 84 A c.

Some texts point in this fashion many nouns which properly belong to the regular Qaṭl type, like קבע, פלג half, Ber. iv. 1, &c. The extension of this form by the scribes is no doubt due to the influence of Aram., in which this is the regular form for the Qaṭl (cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, §§ 93-4). So, sometimes, in BH: נבר beside נבר; חדר and חדר, &c. Cf. Stade, § 191 c.

(ii) Ground-form Qaṭal, Qaṭil, Qaṭul.

224. (a) Qaṭal: אבק dust, Šab. iii. 3; בקר kine, San. iii. 2; זרו girdle, Kel. xxiii. 2; ברך city, Ber. ix. 4; נגר bolt, Zab. iv. 3; רקב rottenness, Naz. vii. 2.

¹ This full form is the only one found in MH, even when not in pause.

² בריסה belly, cited by Albrecht, § 41, does not belong here. It is בריסה, from ברש = ברש; cf. ברשו his belly, Šab. 151 b.

ע"ע חָלַל defiled priest, Qid. iv. 6 (from Lev. xx. 7); מָלַל hem, Kel. xxviii. 7; פָּקַק stopper, Šab. xvii. 7.

ל"ה טָלָה lamb, Tam. iii. 3; יָפָה worth, BQ viii. 1; נָאָה beautiful, Ab. iii. 7; שָׂוָה worth, BQ iv. 1; עָנִי humble, Ber. 6 b.

Fem.: הִלְכָה rule, Šab. i. 4; חִזְקָה possession, usucaption, BB iii. 1; חוֹרָה return, Yeb. xiii. 6; סְבָכָה net work, hairdress, Neg. xi. 11; עֲרֹשָׁה lentil, Šab. x. 5; צוֹחָה cry, Ber. ix. 3; חֲמָרָה hump, Hul. ix. 2; מְלָחָה saltiness, Oh. iii. 7; צִלְקָה scar, Neg. ix. 2;¹ ע"ו נָפָה sieve, Šab. viii. 2; וְנוֹעָה earthquake, Ber. ix. 2.

ע"ע נָבְכָה rakings, Šab. iii. 1; חֲרָרָה cake, ib. i. 10; סְבָכָה covering, overhanging boughs, Naz. vii. 3; קִטְטָה strife, Yeb. xv. 1; שׁוֹרָרָה dominion, Mak. ii. 8.

ל"ה הִנָּאָה enjoyment, benefit, 'AZ ii. 3; לוֹוִיָּה escort, So. ix. 6; רָאִיָּה proof, Šab. viii. 7.

225. (b) *Qaṭil*: גִּדָּר stone fence, Pea ii. 3; חֵבֶר associate, Dam. ii. 3; בֶּרֶם belly, j. San. iii. 9; בֶּתֶף shoulder, Šebi. iii. 9; סָפֵק doubt, Yo. viii. 6; בֵּטָל nought, Ket. ix. 1; טָפַל subordinate, Ber. vi. 7; פָּשִׁיר proper, legal, Šab. vii. 3.

Fem.: אֲבֵדָה lost property, BM ii. 7; גּוֹלָה robbed property, Yeb. xv. 7; בְּרִיכָה pond; פְּסִיקָה pool, MQ 4 a; עֲרֵבָה kneading trough, Pes. iii. 2; קִדְרָה pot, 'Or. ii. 15; דִּלְקָה conflagration, Šab. xvi. 1; חֲשֵׁכָה darkness, ib. i. 3; עֲבֵרָה transgression, Yo. viii. 8.

226. (c) *Qaṭul*. The vowel *ū* = *ō* is represented by וּ, אוּ.

רְטוּב birdtrap, Kel. xxiii. 5; חֲשׁוּךְ dark, Bek. vii. 8; יָרוּק yellow, 'Ed. v. 6; מְתוּק sweet, 'Er. 18 b; עָנוּל round, Nid. viii. 4; עָמוּק deep, t. Neg. i. 5.

(iii) Ground-form *Qaṭāl*, *Qaṭīl*, *Qaṭūl*.

227. (a) *Qaṭāl*, with *ā* obscured into *ō*. Concretes are rare: מְרוּר bitter herbs, Pes. ii. 6. Usually abstract nouns and adjectives

¹ רְכֵבָה, Šebi. ii. 6, cited by Albrecht, § 42, is an error. The text has הִרְכֵּבָה grafting, a verbal noun; cf. below, § 252.

derived from BH, e.g. כְּבוֹד honour, Ab. ii. 10; שָׁלוֹם peace, ib. i. 12; גָּדוֹל great, ib. vi. 5; קָדוֹשׁ holy, ib. v. 4; טָהוֹר pure, Kel. xii. 2.

228. (b) *Qatīl*: אָרִית lath, 'Er. i. 3; אָרִי web, Šab. xiii. 1; בִּינָה dish, Yo. ii. 5; חֲרִיץ trench, Kil. v. 3; יָרִיד a fair, 'AZ 13 a; אָסִיף gathering; זָמִיר pruning; חָרִישׁ ploughing, Sifra 105 b, c, d; מְסִיף olive gathering, Ḥal. iii. 9; זָהִיר careful, Ab. i. 9; חֲבִיב beloved, ib. ii. 10; צָרִיךְ necessary, Šab. ii. 7; רָגִיל accustomed, Yo. i. 3; בָּקִי ל"ה experienced, San. vii. 2; נָקִי clean, t. Toh. iii. 8.

The Fem. form *Qetīlā* is exceedingly common in MH as a *nomen actionis* for the *Qal*, taking the place of the old BH construct infinitive. The form is also found in BH with the same significance, both in early and in late texts. Thus, שְׁרִיקוֹת Jud. v. 16; אֲבִילָה 1 Kings xix. 8; שְׁגִיאוֹת Psal. xix. 13; שְׁחִיטָה 2 Chron. xxx. 7; יְגִיעָה Qoh. xii. 12; perhaps also פְּצִיזָה filing, 1 Sam. xiii. 21. In עִי קִימָה Lam. iii. 63, and in a derived concrete sense: מְלִילָה Deut. xxiii. 26; בִּיאָה entry, Ezek. viii. 5. It is also found in Sirach: נְיוּעָה xxxviii. 16; נְשַׁעָה ib. 25; שְׁקִירָה ib. 26. The form is used in Ethiopic in exactly the same way as in MH, cf. Dillmann, *Eth. Gr.*, § 124; Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 137. In Aram., however, it occurs only occasionally in Jewish dialects,¹ in which it is most probably borrowed from MH. The fact that in earlier BH it occurs only in the Song of Deborah and in the story of Elijah may, perhaps, tend to show that it was originally a Northern dialectal form, which was received into the literary language only after it had established itself in the spoken language. From the latter it may have descended into MH.

Concrete nouns in this form are comparatively few in MH, as compared with the extremely numerous examples of abstract nouns of a verbal nature. This seems to show that the concrete

¹ Cf. Dalman, p. 158, 5 and foot-note.

significance is only secondary, and that it was derived from the original abstract meaning; cf. בִּיאָה, in BH, cited above.

Exx. of concrete nouns: חֲתִיכָה piece, Hul. vii. 5; בְּרִיכָה bundle, BM ii. 1; מְכִילָה parched ear of corn, Ma'a. iv. 5; מְשִׁיחָה cord, Kil. ix. 9; סְרִירָה bag, Kel. viii. 3; עֲנִיבָה loop, Pes. 11a; פְּתִילָה wick, Šab. ii. 1; קִיחָה = לְקִיחָה handle, Kel. xvi. 4.

עֲוֶעֶ festival sacrifice, Hag. i. 2; חֲצִיצָה intervening object, BQ 82a; כַּפִּיפָה basket, So. ii. 1. לֵ"ה leaf, 'AZ iii. 8; רְטִיחָה plaster, 'Er. x. 13.

Abstracts (*nomina actionis*) can be formed at will from every verb. Exx.: אָכַלָה eating, MŠ i. 7; בְּרִיחָה searching, Pes. i. 1; גְּמִיאָה quaffing, Šab. viii. 1; דְּרִיסָה treading, Šebi. v. 2; דְּרִישָׁה inquiry; חֲקִירָה investigation, San. iv. 1, 5; סְמִיכָה laying on of hands; קָמִיצָה taking of a handful; מְלִיחָה pinching bird's head, Qid. i. 8; רְחִיצָה washing, Yo. iii. 1; שְׁחִטָה slaying, ib. i. 7; קְרִיאָה reading, Ber. i. 1; קִיחָה (= לְקִיחָה) taking, Sifra 45c; Qid. 2a; יֵצִיאָה going out, Šab. i. 1; לִידָה = יֵלֶדָה birth, Ket. iv. 3.

בִּיאָה coming, Pes. ix. 4; טִיחָה daubing, Neg. xii. 6; לִישָׁה kneading, Men. v. 2; מִיתָה death, Yo. viii. 8; סִיכָה anointing, Šab. ix. 4 (L. יסיכה: so elsewhere, e.g. Yo. viii. 1).

ע"ע: בְּלִילָה mingling, Men. vi. 3; חֲפִיפָה cleansing the head, MŠ ii. 3; פְּתִיתָה crumbling, Men. vi. 4; רְקִיקָה spitting, Ber. ix. 5.

ל"ה: אָפְיָה baking, Men. v. 2; דְּחִיָה pushing, Yo. vi. 6; בְּרִיָה digging, BQ v. 6; עֲלִיָה going up, Šeq. viii. 2; צֻלִּיָה roasting, Pes. vi. 1; רִבִּיָה increasing; פְּרִיָה fruitfulness, Yeb. vi. 7; שְׁתִּיָה drinking, Yo. viii. 1.

A number of nouns add the abstract suffix **וּת**—(cf. below, § 272) to strengthen the abstract significance, e.g. אֲרִיסוּת tenancy, Pea v. 5; גְּמִילוּת doing, ib. i. 1; פְּרִישוּת separation, Ab. iii. 13; שְׁתִּיקוּת silence, Git. iv. 8, &c.

229. (c) Qatúl. To this form belong the Passive Participles *Qal*, and verbal adjectives like חֲמִוּר weighty, strict, Kel. i. 4;

עָרוֹם subtle, So. iii. 41; פָּחוֹת¹ less, Yo. ii. 5. Further, nouns : בָּחוּר young man, Ta'a. iv. 8; חָלוּק smooth, shirt, Šab. x. 3; חֲרוֹב carob tree, Šebi. vii. 5; חֲתוּל cat, BQ 18 b.

Fem. : בְּתוּלָה virgin, Ket. i. 1; חֲבִירוֹה company, Ber. vii. 51; חֲלוּדָה rust, Kel. xiii. 5; סְעוּדָה meal, Ber. vi. 6; נְשִׁמוּעָה report, Ber. ix. 2.

To this class may, perhaps, be reckoned also fem. nouns with sharpening of the third radical : כְּהוֹנֵה priesthood, Ab. vi. 5; כְּתִיבָה writ, marriage settlement, Qid. ii. 5; קְדוּשָׁה holiness, RH iv. 5 cf. Barth, op. cit., § 95.

(iv) Ground-form *Q^elāl*, *Q^elāl*, *Q^elāl*.

230. (a) *Q^elāl*. אֵלָל offal, Hul. ix. 1; חֲטָם nose ring, Šab. v. 1; כְּתָב writing, Ket. ii. 3; סִיג hedge, Ab. i. 2; סִיחַ young ass, BB v. 3; פָּרָם reward, Ab. i. 4; שֶׁרֶף resin, 'Or. i. 7; שֶׁאֵר, שְׂאֵר remainder, So. vii. 7; סָתָם undefined, 'AZ i. 5; פָּגָם blemish, Me'il. v. 1; שֶׁטֶר document, Šebi. x. 1. ע"ע בָּלָל general rule, Ber. vi. 2.

With *ā* obscured into *ō*: בְּבוֹר first-born, Zeb. v. 8; חֲמוֹר ass, Bek. i. 2; חֲסוֹם muzzle, Kel. xvi. 7; מְחוּל milt, Hul. iii. 2. ע"ע צִוּוֹר knot, Kel. xxvi. 4; צָנוֹן radish, Kil. i. 5.

Fem. : יְרוֹקָה sea-weed, Šab. ii. 1; עֲבוּדָה service, Kil. vi. 1; שְׁעוּרָה barley corn, 'Ed. vi. 3. Segolate forms²: כְּתוּבָה tattooing, Mak. iii. 6; נְחוּשֶׁת copper, Kel. viii. 3; נְסוּרָה chips, Šab. iv. 1; שְׁחוּלָה metal shavings, Kel. xi. 3.

231. (b) *Q^elāl*. בְּדִיר spade, Kel. xxix. 7; גִּזְרִי log, Yo. ii. 5; גִּזְרִי dry season, BM v. 10; גִּזְרִים pounded grain, Kel. xvii. 12; חֲזִיר swine, Hul. ix. 2; טֶפֶחַ pitcher, Šab. xvii. 6; מְלִיחַ pickled food, Ned. ii. 4; סְנִיף attachment, Men. xi. 6; פָּקִיעַ wick, Šeq. v. 1;

¹ Some texts point פָּחוֹת; cf. Krauss, *MGWJ.*, li, p. 57.

² Cf. Stade, § 208 c; Ges.-K., § 84 A n.

קָמִיעַ amulet, Kel. xxiii. 1; שָׁבִיל path, Pea ii. 1; שָׁלִיל embryo, Hul. vii. 1; פְּנִים¹ interior, Šab. i. 1.

232. (c) *Qəṭāl*: גְּבֹול border, Šeq. vii. 3; גְּבֹול hair net, Šab. vi. 1; גָּלוּב gallows, Šab. vi. 10; תִּחְוֶה shoot, t. Šebi. i. 9; תְּחִיב boundary, 'Er. iii. 4; מְלוּג usufruct, Yeb. vii. 1; פְּטוּר discharge, Git. ix. 3; פְּסוּל disqualification, Yo. i. 1; נְשִׁבִית resting, Pes. vi. 2.

(v) Ground-form *Qāṭāl, Qāṭil, Qāṭūl*.

233. (a) *Qāṭāl*, the *ā* obscured to *ō*: חוֹטֵם nose, Bek. vi. 4; חוֹתֵל wrapper, Kel. xvi. 11; חוֹתֵם seal, Šab. viii. 5; שׁוֹבֵק dovecot, ib. xxiv. 3; שׁוֹפָר trumpet, RH iii. 3.

234. (b) *Qāṭil*. To this form belongs the Active Participle *Qal* of transitive verbs. Also a number of nouns of participial origin, e.g. סוֹחֵר merchant, Šeq. vii. 2; פוֹיֵר lukewarm water, Šab. xx. 3; צוֹיֵן cold water, ib. iii. 4; קוֹיֵן (= קוֹצֵץ) clods, MŠ v. 1.

Fem.: חוֹצֵלֶת mat, 'Ed. iii. 4; יוֹתֵרֶת lobe; בּוֹתֵקֶת date, Yo. viii. 2.

235. (c) *Qāṭūl*. To this class belong the following *nomina agentis* with *ū* modified to *ō*: טָחוֹן miller, Dam. iii. 5; BQ 99 b; BB 93 b; לָעוֹ (so L), לְעוֹזוֹת speaker of foreign tongue, Meg. ii. 1; כְּרוֹק woolcomber, Kel. xxvi. 5; כְּרוֹקוֹת ib. xii. 2: the following occur in the plural only: דְּרוֹכוֹת wine pressers, Ter. iii. 4; חֲבוֹרוֹת tenants, Bik. i. 2; גְּרוֹסוֹת grist makers, Men. x. 4; דְּשֻׁנוֹת groat makers (דִּשׁ = דִּש) MQ ii. 5; מְסוֹרוֹת informers, 'AZ 26 b; מְשׁוֹחוֹת measurers, surveyors, 'Er. iv. 11; לְקוֹטוֹת gatherers, BM 72 b; t. BM vi. 1; מְשׁוֹשׁוֹת j. Pea viii. 1 (cf. § 177, note); לְקוֹחוֹת purchasers, Ket. viii. 1: the sing., however, is always לֹקֵחַ. This form may, perhaps, be due to a deliberate change of spelling by the scribes, who mistook the form לְקוֹחַ for the participle passive לָקוּחַ. To the ignorance of the scribes are also due the forms טוֹחֵן, סוֹרֵק, and לוֹעֵן, in some texts.

The form *Qāṭūl* is also found in the following names of instru-

¹ This is the traditional pronunciation; cf. BH. 1 Kings vi. 29.

ments : דְּקוֹר a borer, Kel. xiv. 3 ; מַחֹק an instrument for levelling a measure of grain, ib. xvii. 6 ; שְׁחור a razor, ib. xiii. 1 ; קְמוּכוֹת supporters, artificial legs, Šab. vi. 8 ; רְחוּשׁ reptile-shaped ornament, t. 'AZ v. 2. Perhaps also אָרוֹם timbrel, Kel. xv. 6 (L, but So. ix. 14 : אִירוֹם, also in L).

The form is very common in Aram. (مُعْتَلِّ كَمُولَا), but it also occurs in BH nearly as often as in MH, viz. יְקוּשׁ, חֲמוּיָן, בָּחוּן, אָמוֹן, רֶזוֹן, עֲשׂוֹק, perhaps also צָרוּף a refiner, Jer. vi. 29 ; the fem. בְּנוּדָה, perhaps also שְׂדוּדָה (Psa. cxxxvii. 9, for שְׂדוּדָה), and as *nomen instrumenti*: פְּקוּעַ (Ezek. vii. 4).

236. (vi) Ground-form *Qāṭāl*: גִּידָל thumb, Nid. viii. 1 ; with prosthetic א : אֲגִידָל Yo. ii. 1 ; כּוּפָח small oven, Šab. iii. 2 ; עֵיקִין thorn, point, Yo. ii. 3 ; שׁוּעַל fox, Šab. vi. 10.

(2) Nouns derived from the Intensive Stem.

(i) Ground-form *Qāṭṭal*, *Qāṭṭil*, *Qāṭṭul*.

237. (a) *Qāṭṭāl*, *Qāṭṭāl*: chiefly *nomina opificum*, describing the occupation or profession of the substantive : אָנָם robber, Kil. vii. 6 ; בָּהָם cattle-driver, j. Pes. i. 1 ; בָּקָר cowherd, j. Be. v. 3 ; גָּמָל camel-driver, Qid. iv. 13 ; חָמֹר ass-driver ; סָפֵן sailor ; סָפֵר barber, ib. ; גָּנָב thief, BM iii. 1 ; פֶּתֶף porter, Kel. xii. 2 ; נָגַר carpenter, t. BQ vi. 25 ; פֶּפֶּטס poulterer, 'Er. x. 9 ; צָמֵר wool dealer, ib. ; קָדַר potter, BQ iii. 4.

With ר in the second radical : הָרַג murderer ; הָרַם confiscator, Ned. iii. 4 ; נָרַד weaver, Kil. ix. 10.

ע"ו, ע"ז : בָּרוּךְ bachelor, Qid. iv. 13 ; בִּיַר well sinker, Šebi. viii. 5 ; דִּין judge, Pea viii. 9 ; חָיִט tailor, Šab. i. 3 ; טָיַל man of leisure, Ket. v. 7.

ל"ה, with — in the second radical for —, in Aram. fashion : בָּנְאִי builder, Kel. xiv. 3 ; גָּבְאִי collector, Dam. iii. 1. Adjectives : דְּבִאִי suspect, Dam. i. 1 ; וְדִאִי certain, ib. iv. 4 ; זָבִאִי innocent,

Ab. i. 8; חָשָׂא silent, modest, Šeq. v. 6; לְוִי accompanying, Neg. xiv. 6; רָשָׂא permitted, Šab. xxiii. 3.

Fem. Concrete: יְבֵשָׁה dry land, Git. 56 b; עֲבָבָה rim, 'AZ v. 1; and with ת at the end: בְּלִשְׁתָּ reconnoitring troop, t. Be. ii. 6; גַּמְלָת caravan of camels; חֲמֵרָת caravan of asses, San. x. 5; יְבֵלָת wart, 'Er. x. 3; בִּפְשֵׁת pressed vegetables, t. Šebi. iv. 16; בְּנוֹרָת beehive, Šebi. viii. 10; קַרְחָת bald, empty space, Kil. iv. 1.

Abstracts, including *nomina actionis*, chiefly with ה־: בְּטָלָה idleness, Ab. iii. 4; הוּיָה being, Mekil. (Weiss), 85; Qid. 5 a; בִּבְבָּה cry, RH iv. 9; בְּוִנָּה intention, 'Er. iv. 4; בִּפְרָה atonement, Neg. ii. 1; סִכְנָה danger, Ber. iv. 4; עֲבָבָה or עֲקָבָה detention, 'AZ v. 7; קִבְּלָה reception, Zeb. i. 6. Cf. BH בִּקְרָה, בִּקְשָׁה, נִאָּצָה, &c.; see Ges.-K., § 84, B e.

The form is comparatively rare in MH, as in BH, and cannot like the other verbal nouns *Qittāl* (§ 241) and *Qeṭlā* (§ 228) be formed at will.

238. (b) *Qattil*, *Qattīl*: the infinitive of Pi'el; יָקִיר notable, Yo. vi. 4; פִּשְׁיֵל axe, BQ x. 10; סִבֵּין knife, ib. iv. 9; פָּצִים board, Šab. viii. 5; צְדִיק righteous, Ab. i. 2.

239. (c) *Qattūl*, *Qattīl*: חָדִיר point, Kel. ii. 9; חֲנִין gracious, Šab. 133 b; טַבּוּר navel, Šab. xviii. 3; בָּדִיר ball, Kel. x. 4; עֲמוּד pillar, Ber. i. 2; שְׂפִיד spit, 'AZ v. 12.

Fem.: חֲבִירָה wound, BQ viii. 1; בַּעֲזָרָה drought, Ab. v. 8; מִסְּפֹרָה tradition, ib. iii. 13.

(ii) Ground-form *Qittāl*, *Qittīl*, *Qittul*, *Qittōl*.

240. (a) *Qittāl*, *Qittīl*: אָבֵר husbandman, 'Arak. vi. 3; עֵיקָר root, principal, Ber. vi. 7.

(b) *Qittīl*, *Qittīl*: דִּבְרָה speech, Mekil. 5; fem.: דְּבָרוֹת BQ 54 b; כִּסֵּא chair, Tam. i. 1; רְבִית usury RH i. 8; עֲדִית choice land, Git. v. 1. The form is further used, as in BH, to express a

¹ Some texts have בּוֹלֶשֶׁת, a participial form, § 234.

physical defect: אֵלִים dumb, Ter. i. 6; גִּבּוֹן hunchback, Bek. vii. 2; נָדָם with hands cut off; חֵיָּר lame; חֵרֵשׁ deaf, San. viii. 4; עִקְלָל with crooked feet; צָמִים with large ears; צָמֵעַ with small ears, Bek. vii. 4, 6; קָפֵחַ lanky, ib.;¹ קָטַע crippled, Šab. vi. 8; and by analogy: פִּיָּחַם hearing, Yeb. xiv. 1.

241. (c) *Qitṭāl*. This form is widely used as a verbal noun for Pi'el, and can be formed at will from any verb. It has primarily an abstract significance, but is also found in concretes in a derived sense.

Exx.: אִסּוּר prohibition, 'AZ ii. 3; בִּיטּוּל idling, interruption, Šab. xvi. 1; גִּדּוּל growth, Ber. vi. 3; דִּיבּוּק joining together, Ab. vi. 5; הִילּוּךְ walking, Yo. ii. 3; חִיבּוּר joining, Kil. ix. 10; יְבוּם levirate marriage, Yeb. i. 1; כְּבוֹד honouring, Pea i. 1; לִמּוּד learning, Ab. vi. 5; נְסוּךְ libation, Suk. iv. 9; סִידּוּק cleaving, Pes. iii. 5; וִירוּד trimming, Šebi. ii. 3; טִירוּף confusion, Ber. v. 4; פִּירוּשׁ explanation, 'AZ i. 5; צִיְהוּב gilding, H. Hul. i. 5.

עֲוִית perverting Ab. v. 8; קִיּוּם confirming, Giṭ. ii. 5; שִׁיּוּר (cf. above, § 162) remainder, Ker. ii. 5; תִּיחִיחַ crushing, Oh. xviii. 9.

מְלִיט vain talk, Šebu. iii. 9; וִידּוּי confession, San. ii. 6; מְלִיט filling, Dam. vi. 5; עִינּוּי afflicting, Ab. v. 8; רְפוּי healing, BQ viii. 1.

Concrete: מִידּוּלִים products, Ber. 40 b; חִילּוּף exchange, relay, Ber. iii. 1; טִינּוּף filth, Bek. iii. 1; יְשׁוּבָה civilized world, Qid. i. 10; לְמוֹדִים boards, MQ ii. 2; חִיפּוּם steel edge, Kel. xiii. 4; עֵגוּל round cake, BM ii. 1; עִירוּב 'erub, 'Er. iii. 2; צֶבֶר heap, BM ii. 2; שִׁיעוּר measure, Pea i. 1.

כִּפּוּי crumb, Šab. xxiv. 3; חִיפּוּי wrapping, Kel. xvi. 8; כִּפּוּי cover, Šab. xvii. 8; קִיפּוּי froth, Ter. iv. 11.

Fem.: בְּבוּרָה early fig, Ter. iv. 6.

The form is found in a number of technical terms in the plural

¹ So יִתְרָה one with superfluous fingers or toes, ib., in L, for יִתְרָה in edd.

only: אִירוּסִין betrothal, Yeb. vi. 4; נִשְׂוֵאִין matrimony Ket. i. 4; קִירוּשִׁין betrothal; גִּירוּשִׁין divorce, Yeb. iii. 8; בִּירוּרִין arbitration; מִיאונִין annulment of minority marriage, BM i. 8; יִירוּרִין urgings (of vows), Ned. iii. 1; also יְסוּרִין suffering, Ber. 5 a.

The form is found in BH both as abstract and concrete, in the sing. and in the plural: חֲבוּק, שְׁלוּם, צָפוּי, שְׁקוּיָן, לְמוֹד, גְּדוּפִים, מְלֵאִים, &c. Cf. Ges.-K., § 84 Bi; Stade, § 228. So in Sirach: חֲמוּד xiv. 14; יְסוּר xl. 29; לְמוֹד xli. 28; נְפוּי xxxii. 1; xliv. 20.

242. (d) *Qittōl*, *Qittōl*: גִּבּוֹר mighty, Ab. iv. i; גִּיחוֹר crimson red, Bek. vii. 6; יְלוּד born, Ab. iv. 21; נִיפּוּל young birds fallen out of their nest, BB ii. 6; נִיצוּץ spark, t. Yo. ii. 3; צָנוּר pipe, Miq. iv. 1; קִיפּוּף long-tailed ape, Bek. 8 a; שָׂבוּר drunkard, Bek. vii. 6.

Fem.: בִּקּוּרָה inquiry, Ket. xi. 5; טִינוּפָה filth, BB vi. 2; קִיבּוּלָה contract labour, t. MQ ii. 5; קִיבּוּרָה biceps, Men. 37 a, b; שִׁיבּוּלָה ear of corn, Pea v. 2.

243. (iii) Ground-form *Qutṭal*: שׁוּתָף partner, Pes. viii. 1 (cf. Sirach xl. 24); אִיפָן artisan, 'AV v. 7; עוּבָר embryo, Hul. iv. 1.

(3) *Nouns formed by Reduplication.*

244. (i) Reduplication of the Third radical. These have the vowel *a* in the second syllable, and are mostly of a diminutive significance.

Exx.: גִּבְלִיל lump of dough, j. Ḥal. iii. 1; רִבְלִיל excrescence, t. Kel. BM vii. 11; קִמְצוּץ compressed, bent up, j. So. ix. 1; סִמְרָט (Saph'el of מֵרַט to pluck, cf. above, § 149), lappet, Šab. xi. 2, and perhaps also נְאֻמִּיט or נְעֻמִּיט (= נְאוּמִיט from זֹמֵי young man, Meg. 9 a.¹

¹ Kohut, iii. 283 f., holds that נְעֻמִּיט is an error for נְאֻמִּיט = νεώτατοι. The noun is also found in the Arabic dialect of Iraq, cf. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i, § 172 a.

The other examples are all fem.:

ערבובִּיָּה mixture, confusion, Kil. v. 1; קרוֹיָה (from קרה) hollow pumpkin, Pa. v. 3. With the termination ית־: אֶדְמוּמִית redness, Hul. 87 b; לְבִנְיִית whiteness, Neg. iv. 4; שְׁחֹרִירִית blackness, ugliness, Ta'a. 23 b; מְשֻׁבָּבִית leading ram, BQ 52 b; רְקִבּוּבִית rottenness, Yo. 38 b; שְׁמֻנְיִית oily substance, Be. 28 a.

Diminutives: גִּבְשׁוּשִׁית a hillock, heap, Šab. 23 b; גּוּמְמִית little hole, t. Miq. iii. 4; גִּנְיִית little garden, BB 68 a, b; דְּגִנְיִית a light fisher-boat (contracted to דְּוִינִית), BB 78 b; יִרְבּוּבִית little pipe, Lev. R. 5; Num. R. 10; עֲפִירִית little dust, BB 93 b; שְׁלִילִית pool, Oh. xvi. 5; הִלְלִית hillock, ib. 7.

Cf. BH נַעֲצוּיָן, נֶאֱפֹפִים, נִשְׁעִירִיה, &c., Stade, § 231.

A BH parallel to the diminutive significance of reduplicated form is to be found in שְׁחֹרְחֹרֶת Cant. i. 6, which can only mean blackish, dark. Perhaps also יִרְקֶנֶק, יִרְמָדָם¹ Lev. xiii. 42, 43; אֶסְפָּסוּף rabble, Num. xi. 4, and פִּרְחָה low brood, Job xxx. 12 (cf. כְּהוֹנָה פִּרְחֵי young priests, Yo. i. 7; Tam. i. 1), are to be regarded as diminutives, the last two nouns with a contemptuous significance.

245. (ii) Reduplication of Second and Third radicals.

אֶדְמָדָם red; יִרְקָק yellow, Neg. iii. 8; תִּירָרִר spotted, white, Bēk. vi. 3; סִגְלָגְלָה round, Šab. 31 a; שִׁרְפָּרָה camp stool, Kel. xxiii. 2; שִׁרְקָרָה gier eagle, Hul. 63 a.

With *ō* in the second syllable, cf. BH פִּתְלִתָּל, שְׁחֹרְחֹרֶת, &c. (Ges.-K., § 84 Bn); תִּלְלָלוּג purslane, Šebi. ix. 1; תִּלְחָלוּח a species of peas, t. Pea i. 7; יִרְקָרֹקֶת yellowish, Meg. 13 a; צִמְרָמוּרוֹת feverish flushes, Nid. ix. 8.

Diminutives: בְּצִלְצוֹל dwarf onion, Kil. i. 3; פְּרוּמְרוּט units, details, t. MŠ ii. 11. So the caritative form: יְפִיפִין very beautiful,

¹ Cf. Ibn Ezra, *ad loc.*, and on Cant., l. c. In Neg. xi. 4; Sifra, xiii. 49, however, these terms are explained as intensives. Cf. also Brockelmann, *ib.*, i, § 172.

Ned. 20 b; יִפְיִיָּה Pes. 6 b; יִפְיִיּוֹת Meg. 15 a; Ta'a. 31 a, cf. Jerem. xlv. 20. For the diminutive character of the vowel \acute{e} = *ai*, cf. § 273.

If the third radical is ל or ר it is sometimes omitted: מְטוּטֶלֶת (= מְטוּטֶלֶת) plummet, Kel. xii. 8; שְׂפופֶרֶת (= שְׂפופֶרֶת), tube, ib. ii. 4. So עֲנֻקָּלוֹת for עֲנֻקָּלוֹת (from עֲנַק = עֲנַק), undeveloped grapes, 'Or. i. 8.

246. (iii) Reduplication of the whole Stem,¹ in ע"ו and ע"ע roots.

(a) Ground-form *Qatqat*, *Qatqit*, *Qatqut*: גִּלְגָּל wheel, Mid. v. 4; גִּרְגֵּר berry, Šebi. iii. 7; בִּבְבָּב lid, Kel. ii. 3; קִנְקִנָּן cylindrical vessel, Ab. iv. 20.

Fem.: קִלְקֵלָה disgrace, Ab. iv. 18; קִרְקֵרָה bottom of vessel, Kel. ii. 2; צִפְצֵפָה a species of willow, Suk. iii. 3; בִּלְבֵלָה basket, Pea vii. 3; גִּרְגֵּרָה windpipe, Hul. iii. 1; פִּרְפֵּרֶת hash, Ber. vi. 5; שִׁשְׁשֵׁת paste, Šab. viii. 4; שִׁלְשֵׁלָה chain, BQ vii. 7.

Qatqit. The Infinitives of Pilpel: מִלְקֵל, מִטְלֵל, &c., cf. §§ 182, 195.

Qatqut: דִּרְדִּיר, cask on wheels, Kel. xv. 1; חֲחִיוִּים cartilage, Bek. vi. 1; חֲחִירִי coultter, Kel. xiii. 3; פִּטְפִּיט peg, Šab. viii. 4.

Fem.: גִּנּוּגִּנֶת parasol, Kel. xvi. 7 (L); יִדְרִיגֶת dry fig, Šab. vii. 4; קִנְקִנֹת (from קִנָּה) branch sinews, Hul. 92 a, b.

247. (b) Ground-form *Qitqat*, *Qitqit*, *Qitqut*.

Qitqat: בִּבְרֶ (= בִּרְבֶּר) loaf, Pea viii. 7; פִּשְׁפֵּשׁ wicket, Mid. i. 7; לִשְׁלִשְׁתִּי secretion, Šab. xxi. 2.

Qitqit: פִּלְפֵּל pepper (diminutive of פִּיל) TY i. 5; פִּשְׁפֵּשׁ bug, Ter. viii. 2.

Qitqut: This form is very common as a verbal noun of Pilpel, corresponding to *Qitṭul* for the Intensive Stem (§ 241), and also in a secondary sense as a concrete: בִּלְבִּיל growth of hair, Šab. viii. 4; לִפְלוּף glutinous substance, Miq. ix. 4; מִלְמוּל crumbs, ib. ix. 2; קִלְקוּל disorder, MQ 12; בִּעְבוּע swelling, Miq. x. 4; דִּקְדִּיק subtle

¹ Here may also be mentioned the form לִילִי, construct of לַיְלָה night, Suk. 48 a, and often, for BH לִיל; cf. BDB s.v. and reff.

thinking, Ab. vi. 5; הִרְהוּר meditating, Naz. ix. 4; טָלְטֵל moving, Šab. 43 b; לִבְלִיף moistening, Miq. ix. 4; נִדְנִיד shaking, t. Yeb. iv. 8.

248. (c) Ground-form *Qutqut*: טוּמְטוּם of unknown sex, Hag. i. 1; קָדָקֶר skull, Neg. x. 10; גִּלְגּוּלָה skull, Ab. ii. 6.

(4) *Nouns formed by means of Prefixes.*

249. (i) With Prefix א: אָבוּב flute, Kel. ii. 3; אָגוּדֶל thumb, Yo. ii. 1; אָנָף door-step, Ned. vii. 5; אֶרְבּוּבָה knee, Kil. vii. 1; אֶשְׁבּוּרֶן pond, Oh. iii. 3; אֶשְׁפּוֹת¹ dung-hill, Kel. xxvii. 11; אָנְרוֹף fist, ib. xvii. 12; אֶמְצַע middle, Šab. ix. 2; אֶפְרוֹחַ chicken, Hul. xii. 3; אָפּוֹן bean, Pea iii. 3; also אָפּוֹל t. Ter. x. 15; אֶסְקוּפָה threshold, Šab. x. 2.

In the following verbal nouns the א is a phonetic modification of ה (cf. the next section and above, § 43); אֶבְעָיָה search, Pea iv. 5; אָגָדָה Agadah, Ned. iv. 3; אֶוְהָרָה warning, Pes. iii. 1; אֶוְנָאָה wrong, BM iv. 3.

250. (ii) Prefix ה. These are all verbal nouns with an abstract significance formed from the Hiph'il. They fall into two classes: (a) masculines in the form *Haqtel*, confined chiefly to strong verbs, and (b) feminines in the form *Haqtala*, for all classes of verbs. Some of the *Haqtel* forms have assumed a secondary concrete significance.

251. (a) *Haqtel*. This is practically the old Infinitive Hiph'il

¹ From שָׁפַת, as is shown by the plur. אֶשְׁפָּתוֹת, Šebi. i. 1-3; So. 42 b, &c. The form אֶשְׁפּוֹת is for אֶשְׁפָּת with *ā* obscured to *ō*. אֶשְׁפָּת, which seems to have survived in popular speech, was reduced to אֶשְׁפָּה by the elision of the final ת, on the analogy of the fem. termination. So K^et. vii. 5; BM. v. 7; BB. v. 3; M^eil. iii. 6. L and other texts have, however, אֶשְׁפּוֹת. In BM. ii. 3 also L reads אֶשְׁפָּה. So often in the Talmud: Šab. 15 a (contrast with 'Ed. i. 3); P^es. 8 b, &c. The Palestinian Talmud has often אֶשְׁפָּה: j. Sab. ii. 3; j. K^et. i. 10. Cf. also *JQR.*, xx, p. 715.

fossilized into a noun. The traditional, and no doubt correct, pronunciation of the prefix with *e* for *a*, seems to have arisen through assimilation to the *ē* in the second syllable.¹

Exx.: הִבְעֵר burning, BQ i. 1; הִבְקַר or הִפְקַר (cf. above, § 49), ownerless property, Pea vi. 1; הִפְסֵד loss, Ab. v. 4; הִפְשִׁט flaying, Yo. ii. 7; הִקְדִּישׁ consecrated property, Ter. i. 5; הִרְגִּל habit, Šab. i. 5; הִסְגִּיר shutting up, Meg. i. 7.

פִּגְנוּ recognition, 'Er. 11 b; הִיטֵם shaking, Toh. xi. 1; הִיקֵף circumference, Kel. xvii. 8; הִיָּשׁוּ comparison, Zeb. 50 a; הִנָּהוּ waving, Suk. iii. 12.

When followed by a genitive, the prefix preserves, if tradition can be trusted, the old BH vowel. Thus: הִבְשִׁיר כָּל נֹקוֹ rendering fit (= responsibility for) all its damage, BQ i. 1; הִעֲלֵם שְׂרָץ unconsciousness of the reptile, Šebu. iii. 4; הִעָּרַב שָׁמֶשׁ setting of the sun, Hal. i. 9; הִשָּׁג יָד reaching of the hand, 'Ar. iv. 1 (cf. Lev. xxvii. 8); הִשְׁבִּיב אֲבֵדָה restoring lost property, BM vii. 4; הִנָּח הַחֲמָה the rising of the sun, Ber. i. 2.

This substantival use of the Infin. Hiph'il is found also in BH, e. g. הִפְצֵר 1 Sam. xv. 23; הִשְׁמִיד Isa. xiv. 23; הִמְשִׁיל Job xxv. 2; הִוָּכַח ib. vi. 25; cf. Stade, § 245.

252. (b) *Haqtāla*: הִבְדִּיל separation, Hul. i. 7; הִבְעֵר kindling, Šab. ii. 6; הִנְבִּיחָה lifting, Qid. i. 4; הִטְמִינָה hiding, Šab. 39 a; הִכְנִיסָה bringing in, ib. 2 a; הִפְסְקָה interruption, Ta'a. 4 b; הִקְטִירָה burning incense, Qid. i. 8; הִרְבֵּבָה grafting, Šebi. ii. 6; הִרְקָה sifting, Pes. 11 a.

הִשְׁקִיָּה giving to drink, Meg. ii. 7; הִזָּה or הִזָּאָה sprinkling, Qid. i. 8.

הִנָּשָׂה bringing near, ib.

הִבְאָה bringing, Pea i. 1; הִרְחָה rinsing, Šab. xxii. 2; הִטְבָּה

¹ For a similar change in BH, cf. Ges.-K., § 27 p; Stade, § 81; also Sznejder, p. 231.

doing good, Šebu. iii. 5; הִנָּחָה laying down, Kel. viii. 8; הִרְעָה
doing ill, Šebu. iii. 5.

פִּי הוֹדָאָה confessing, ib. vi. 1; הוֹצֵאָה bringing out, Šab. 2 b;
הוֹרְדָה bringing down, Mid. iv. 1.

For the change of ה to א cf. above, § 249.

This form which is identical with the Aram. infin. Aph'el (Haph'el) is probably older than the ordinary infin. with *ē* (= *i*) in the second syllable.¹ In BH it is found already in Isaiah: הִפָּרָה iii. 9; הִנָּפָה xxx. 28. Further, with א in אֶזְפָּרָה Lev. ii. 2, &c.; besides הִנָּחָה Esther ii. 18; הִצָּלָה ib. iv. 14. In Sirach: הִשָּׁנָה xxxv. 10; הוֹדָאָה li. 17; הִצָּנַע xvi. 25; xxxii. 3; cf. Micah vi. 8.

253. (c) With the prefix ה is found the reflexive verbal noun הִשְׁתַּחֲוֹוֹת bowing down, Šebu. ii. 3; הִשְׁתַּחֲוִיּוֹת Šeq. vi. 1; Tam. vii. 3, formed on the analogy of בִּהְשַׁחֲתוּיָתִי 2 Kings v. 18. Cf. Stade, § 254.

254. (iii) Prefix י. In a few nouns, consisting, chiefly, of names of animals and plants; cf. BH יֶחֱמוּר, יוֹנָה, &c. Stade, § 259, Barth, p. 226 f.

Exx.: יִבְחֹשׁ a kind of gnat, Nid. iii. 2; יִתּוּשׁ gnat, t. Šab. xii. 4; יִרְבִּיז strawberry-blight, Šebi. ix. 1; יֶחֱזֹר branch, Kil. i. 8; further, יִצוּל handle of a plough, Kel. xxi. 2; יִתּוּבִין tongs, ib. xii. 3.

255. (iv) Prefix מ. As in BH, מ is extensively used for the formation of nouns of the following classes: (1) subjective nouns, including the Participles of the derived active stems of Verbs; also a number of *nomina actionis*, e.g. מִדְרָשׁ, מִדְרָשׁ, מִמְכָּר; (2) objective nouns, including the Participles of the derived passive stems of Verbs; also a number of concrete nouns, representing the result of an action, e.g. מִאֲפָה, מִעֲשָׂה, מוֹתָר; (3) names of instruments and tools, e.g. מִדּוֹד, מִכְבֵּשׁ, מִנְעָל; (4) nouns of a local significance, e.g. מִבּוֹי, מִחֲצֵב, מִרְחֵץ.

¹ Cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, pp. 73, 90.

256. (a) Ground-form *Maqṭal*, *Maqṭil*, *Maqṭul*.

Maqṭal: מַאֲכָל food, Šab. 10 a; מַחְצֵב quarry, Šebi. iii. 5; מַנְעֵל shoe, Šab. viii. 2; מַעְצָר adze, BQ x. 10. With *ā* changed to *ē*: מְרַחֵץ bath, Šab. i. 2; cf. Stade, § 270; also Ges.-K., § 85 h.

פִּגְנָה touch, Hul. iv. 4; מְדַף instrument for driving away, Kel. xvi. 7; מַסֵּר saw, Šab. xvii. 4; מִשָּׂא or מִשְׁוִי burden, Šebi. iii. 6; מַתָּן gift, Ab. ii. 1.

פִּיגְמָה remnant, Kil. v. 4; מִיָּחָם heating-pan, Šab. iii. 3 (from יָחָם = חָמָם); מִיֵּטֵב best, BQ i. 1.

מְאֹר light-hole, Šab. xxiv. 5; מְבוֹא (= מְבוֹא) entrance, 'Er. i. 1; מְדוּדָה pestle, Be. i. 7; מְזוֹן food, 'Er. iii. 1; מְחֹל circle, Kil. iv. 2; מְקוּף the eye of a coultter, Kel. xiii. 3.

מְפֹשׁ palpable, real, San. v. 4; מְנַפִּים greaves, Kel. xi. 8.

מְאֻפָּה baked, 'Er. vii. 10; מְקַלָּה roasting-place, Ta'a. iii. 1; מְקַפָּה mess of grist, Šab. xvii. 5.

Fem.: מְחַשְּׁבָה thought, Ber. 61 a; מְטַהֲרֶת gutter, Miq. vi. 11; מְקַלְעָה braid, Yo. vi. 7; מְרַדְעֶת pack-saddle, Šab. v. 2; מְרַפֶּסֶת veranda, Ma'a. iii. 6.

מְפָה wound, So. iii. 4; מְחַנֶּה gift, Zeb. v. 1.

מְנוּפָה stopper, Šab. xxii. 3; מְדוּכָה mortar, Kel. xxiii. 2; מְצוּדָה net, ib. xxi. 3; מְדִינָה district, RH iv. 3; מְחִיצָה partition, Kil. iv. 4; מְעִיפָה flour paste, Hal. i. 6.

Maqṭil: מְטַבֵּעַ coin, Šab. vi. 7; מְכַבֵּשׁ press, ib. xx. 5; מְלָבֵן frame, Neg. xiii. 3; מְלַקֵּט (or מְלַקֶּט L) pincher, Mak. iii. 5; מְסַמֵּר nail, Kel. xii. 5; מְסַרֵּק comb, ib. xiii. 8; מְעַדֵּר pitchfork (or מְעַדֵּר) ib. 7; מְעֵטֶן vat, BM v. 7; מְפַתֵּחַ key, Kel. xiv. 8; מְרַפֵּק elbow, 'Ar. v. 1; מְרַצֵּעַ awl, Qid. 21 b; מְרַתֵּף store-room, Pes. i. 1; מְשַׁבֵּר travelling chair, Kel. xxiii. 4; מְתָבֵן store of straw, 'Er. vii. 5.

Fem.: מְנַרְפָּה shovel, Tam. ii. 1; מְנַחֲלָה gutter, BB iii. 6; מְשַׁפְּלָה wicker-basket, Šebi. iii. 2; מְאַיְרָה curse, Suk. iii. 10; מְנַפָּה wound, Makš. vi. 8.

Maqṭul, only fem. nouns. The *ū* is changed to *ō* and usually

spelt with ו: מַאֲכֹלֶת louse, Šab. 12 a; מַחְרוֹת string, BM ii. 1; מַחְלָקָה controversy, Ab. v. 20; מַסְפּוֹרֶת scissors, Šab. 48 b; מַפּוֹלֶת fall, Pes. ii. 3.

257. (b) Ground-form *Miqṭal*, *Miqṭil*, *Miqṭul*.

Miqṭal: מִדְבָּר wilderness, Ber. ix. 2; מִדְרָס treading, Kel. xxiv. 1; מִזֶּן mattress, ib. xix. 3; מִמָּכַר selling, Meg. iii. 2; מִנְהַג custom, BM vii. 1; מִשְׁתָּה feast, Ber. i. 1; מִקָּח taking, Ab. iv. 22.

Fem.: מִדְלָעוֹת, מִקְשָׁאוֹת fields of pumpkins, of cucumbers, Šebi. ii. 1; מְוֹדָה travelling-bag, Kel. xx. 1; מְכוּה burn, Neg. ix. 1; מְלוּה loan, 'AZ iv. 10; מְקַלָּה burning, Ta'a. ii. 1; מְשֻׁנָּה repetition, study, Ab. iii. 7; מְחֻלָּה cavity, t. Yeb. xiv. 6; מְסָבָה winding staircase, Tam. i. 1; מְעִיפָה flour paste, Ḥal. i. 6.

Miqṭil: מִזְבֵּחַ altar, Zeb. v. 1.

Miqṭul, only fem.: מְכַמֹּרֶת net, Kel. xxiii. 5; מְשְׁקוֹלֶת plummet, ib. xxix. 3.

258. (c) Ground-form *Muqṭal*: Participle Hoph'al; further, מְוִנְמָר perfume, Ber. vi. 6; מְוִקָּצָה store of fruit, Ma'a. i. 5; מְוִרָסָה blister, 'Ed. ii. 5.

259. (d) Ground-form *Maqṭāl*-*Maqṭól*, *Maqṭíl*, *Maqṭál*.

Maqṭál. The long *a* is obscured to *o*: מְכַחֵל eye-painter, Kel. xiii. 8; מְלָקוֹט bag, ib. xvi. 7.

Maqṭíl: Participle of Hiph'il; further, fem. nouns: מְעֻיָּבָה plaster of ceiling, BM x. 1; מְטָלִית patch, lining, Šab. xxiv. 5; מְרָאִית sight, appearance, ib. xix. 6.

Maqṭál: מְפֻיֵּחַ bellows, t. Be. iii. 15.

260. (e) Ground-form *Maqṭāṭel*: Participle Pi'el; further some fem. nouns of a participial origin: מְסַנֵּנֶת sieve, Kel. xiv. 8; מְשַׁמְרֶת strainer, Ab. v. 15.

261. (v) Prefix נ: Participle Niph'al; further the following nouns: נִבְרָכָת pool, MQ i. 6; נִבְרָשֶׁת lamp, Yo. iii. 10; נִבְרָךְ stone wall, Ber. ii. 4; נִחְשׁוֹל storm, Yo. 38 a; נִחְיָהִים baker, Dam. ii. 4;

נִצְפָה caper berry, ib. i. 1; נִמְוֹשׁוֹת aged (groping), Pea viii. 1; cf. § 177, נִיצוֹק uninterrupted flow, Toh. viii. 9.

262. (vi) Prefix ש, ש: Verbal nouns formed from Saph'el and Šaph'el: סָרְגוּל drawing lines, Gen. R 25; שְׁחָרוּר manumission, Git. i. 4; שְׁעָבוּר subjection, Ber. 9 b; שְׁעָמוּם idiocy, Ket. v. 5; further, סָנְלָגַל round, Šab. 31 a; סְמִרְטוּט lappet, Šab. xix. 2; סָרָק empty (of a tree that bears no fruit), Kil. vi. 5.

263. (vii) Prefix ת, chiefly in abstracts.

(a) Ground-form *Taqṭal*, *Taqṭil*.

Taqṭal, mostly BH nouns: תַּאֲוָה desire, Ab. iv. 21; תוֹרָה thank-offering, Zeb. v. 6; תוֹרָה law, Ab. i. 1; תִּרְפִּין court, front, Hul. 43 b; תִּרְוִיד spoon, Kel. xvii. 12.

Taqṭil, only fem.: תוֹסֶפֶת addition, Bik. iii. 10; תְּחִיָּה resurrection, San. x. 1; תְּפִלָּה prayer, Ber. iv. 1.

264. (b) Ground-form *Tiḡṭal*, *Tiḡṭul*.

Tiḡṭal: תִּגְלַחַח shaving, 'AZ i. 3; תִּקְרָה rafter, BM x. 2.

Tiḡṭul, only fem.: תִּבְבוֹשָׁת washing, MQ 15 a; תִּסְפוֹרָת hair cutting, Sab. 9 b; תִּרְעוּמָת complaint, BM vi. 1; תִּקְרוּבָת gift, t. BB iv. 14; תִּשְׁחוּרָת youth, AB iii. 2.

265. (c) Ground-form *Taqṭil*, *Taqṭāl*.

Taqṭil: תִּבְשִׁיל cooked food, Šab. iii. 1; תִּבְרִיף bundle, BM i. 8; תִּכְשִׁיט ornament, MQ 9 b; תִּלְמִיד disciple, Ab. iv. 12; תִּמְצִית juice, Zeb. viii. 7; תִּעֲנִית fast, Ta'a. i. 4; תִּשְׁמִישׁ use, service, Yo. viii. 1.

Taqṭāl: תִּתְרוּת strife, Ber. 17 a; תִּלְמוּד study, Pea i. 1; תִּמְחוּי dish, ib. viii. 7; תִּנְחֻמִּין consolation, Ber. ii. 7; תִּרְבוּת rearing, Nid. x. 8; תִּשְׁלֹם payment, BQ i. 1; תִּפּוּחַ apple tree, Kil. i. 4; תִּבוּסָה weltering, Oh. ii. 2; תִּמּוּרָה exchange, Tem. i. 1; תִּנוּפָה waving, Qid. i. 8; תִּרוּעָה blowing, RH iv. 9; תִּשׁוּבָה repentance, Ab. iv. 11; תִּעְרִיבוּת exchange, Yeb. xi. 3.

(5) *Nouns formed by means of Suffixes.*

266. (i) Suffix ל¹: אֶשְׁבּוּל cluster, Mid. iii. 8; גִּבְעוּל calyx, Pa. xii. 2; מְרסוּל ankle, Oh. i. 8; רִבְצָל small bag, Kel. xx. 1.

267. (ii) Suffix לְ—, לִ— . This suffix is used to form abstract nouns and abjectives. Nouns of a concrete sense with this suffix are mostly of an originally adjectival character (cf. Stade, § 292; Barth, p. 316 f.).

(a) Suffix לְ—.

Ground-form *Qaṭlan*: אֶרְבֵּן prolonger; מְצַר shortener, Ber. 34 a; בּוֹשֵׁן shamefaced, Ab. ii. 5; גִּמְלוֹן (also גִּמְלוֹן) camel-like, large, Kil. iii. 2; יוֹתֵר indulgent, BQ 50 a; מְרֵחַ bald, Bek. 43 b; מַקְבֵּן mallet-shaped, Bek. vii. 1; מְרֵבן stubborn (L סִירְבֵּן) Ber. v. 2; גִּבְרֵן scorpion-like, 'Er. ii. 6; מְרֵבֵן quick-tempered, Ab. ii. 5; גִּבְלוֹ robber, 'Or. i. 2; דִּרְשָׁן lecturer, So. ix. 15; רֹצֵחַ murderer, ib. 9; חֹזֵן overseer, Šab. i. 3; מִדָּן block, Kil. i. 8; מְבַלֵּן contractor, Šebi. iii. 9 (L קוֹבְלָן); רֹצֵעַ saddler, Pea iv. 6.

Qitlan: לִפְתָּן turnip-shaped, Bek. vii. 1; צִיקָן avaricious, Pes. vii. 8; רִיקָן empty, Yo. v. 4 (L רִיקָם, so Ta'a. ii. 2); עֲנִי subject, t. Meg. iv. 3; פִּשְׁתָּן flax, Šab. iv. 11; תִּלְתָּן fenugreek, Kil. ii. 5.

Qutlan: מוֹרָבָן bran, Hal. ii. 6; קֶרְבָּן sacrifice, Ned. i. 4; some *Qaṭlan* forms are in certain texts given as *Qutlan*, e. g. סִירְבָּן, קוֹבְלָן, in L, cf. above.

Cf. also the adverbial ending לְ— (= מְ—) in בָּאֵן, לְהֵלֵן, מַעֲלֵן, מִפָּן, § 295.

268. (b) Suffix לִ—.

Adjectives: אַחֲרֵן last, BQ iv. 1; חֵיצוֹן external, Zeb. v. 1; עֲלִיּוֹנָה uppermost, BM iv. 2; תַּחְתּוֹן lower, San. viii. 1; תִּיכוֹן middle, Ber. 3 b; כִּילוֹן wedge-shaped, Bek. vii. 1; קִיצוֹן of summer, Šebi.

¹ These are probably diminutive forms, cf. Prätorius, *ZDMG.*, lvii, p. 530 ff. Brockelmann, *ib.*, p. 402.

v. 4; also adjectival nouns: אֶבִּיּוֹ needy, BM 111 b; אֶלְמוֹן widower, Kel. 7 a; אִילֻנִית barren woman, Yeb. i. 1.

Abstract: חֶסְרוֹן loss, t. Ta'a. i. 2; חֵשְׁבוֹן reckoning, BB 9 b; סִירְחוֹן stench, Pes. 35 a; פְּרִיֹן ransom, Bek. i. 6; סֵּתֶר שֵׁן secret, Hag. 13 a.

With sharpening of the second radical: גִּרְעוֹן diminution, 'Ar. ix. 7; הִשְׁבּוֹן restoration (from השב), BM 58 b; זִכְרוֹן remembrance, RH iv. 6; חִסְבוֹן saving, Men. 86 b; נִסְיֹן trial, Ab. v. 3; נִצְחוֹן victory, So. viii. 1; עֶשְׂרוֹן one-tenth, Men. xiii. 1; פְּקָדוֹן deposit, Šebu. v. 1; פְּרָקוֹן redemption, Ket. iv. 4; פִּשְׁיֹן spreading, Neg. i. 3; רֵאיוֹן appearance, Pea i. 1.

Concretes with this ending are found only in a few denominatives with a diminutive significance: זֵרְעוֹנִים seeds, Kil. iii. 2 (only plur., cf. Dan. i. 16); צִמְחוֹנִים green buds, MŠ ii. 3 (only plur.); חֲבִינוֹת little jars (from חָבַת), Kel. ii. 2; בִּידוֹן little javelin, ib. xi. 8; קָנוֹן little reed-basket, Be. i. 8.

Cf. BH אִישׁוֹן, שְׁהֲרוֹנִים (Stade, § 296 c; Ges.-K., § 86 g; Barth, p. 348 f.). The form is as scarce in MH as in BH. In Aram., on the other hand, it is extremely common, and can be formed at will from any noun, cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 131.

269. (iii) Suffix '—, usually spelt 'א—, or "— (in Palestinian texts), to distinguish it from the vowel letter '—̣. It is only found in a few nouns: אַחֲרִי responsible, Dam. iii. 5 (cf. Prov. xxviii. 23); בִּרְקָאִי (or בִּירְקָאִי) morning star, Yo. iii. 1; גּוֹבְאִי a kind of locust, Ber. vi. 3; and לִפְנֵי within, Zeb. 52 a (cf. 1 Kings vi. 17; Stade, § 301; Ges.-K., § 86 i).

270. (iv) Suffix '—̣. To this formation belong denominative adjectives describing origin.

Of names of peoples: אֶדְוִמִי Edomite, Pes. iii. 1; אִיטָלְקִי Italian, Šebi. i. 3; אֶרְמִי Aramaean, Pes. x. 4; יִשְׂרָאֵלִי Israelite, Qid. iv. 1 (but more often without suffix; יִשְׂרָאֵל 'AZ ii. 9, 10). Of names of places: גָּלִילִי Galilean, Pes. vii. 1; דְּרוֹמִי southern, Šeq. vi. 3;

ירושלמית Jerusalemite; מִדְּבָרִית belonging to the wilderness, Men. vii. 1; בֵּיתֶשְׁנִי of Beth Shean; and with נ inserted: חֵיפָנִי of Haifa, Meg. 24 b; so טְבַרְנִית Tiberian, j. Šeq. iii. 2;¹ כּוֹפֶרִי rural, wild, Kil. i. 6.

Of numbers, Ordinals: שְׁלֹשִׁי Yo. ii. r. 4; שְׁלֹשִׁית; רִבְעִי three, four years old, Pa. i. 1 (cf. below, § 398).

Of other nouns: אֱלּוּלִים born in the month of Elul, Bek. ix. 5; אֶמְצָעִית middle, Kil. v. 2; אֶצְבָּעִי smallest, dwarf, Bek. 48 b; בֵּיתִיּוֹת domestic, Be. v. 7; יְחִידִי alone, Ab. iii. 4; עוֹלָמִית ever, Yeb. iii. 9; פְּנִימִי inner, Tam. i. 4; צוּאִי filthy, Hul. xi. 2; פִּשְׁתָּנִי flax dealer, j. Yeb. xiii. 1; שֶׁלֶחָנִי money changer, BM ii. 4.

Sometimes the suffix --- is combined with --- , --- : חֲנוּנִי shop-keeper, Ned. iv. 7; מִיבָעֵנִי flooded; יִבְשָׁנִי rainless, dry, Ta'a. 10 a; רִיחָנִי villager, Dam. vi. 4; רִהִיטָנִי clipper, Mak. iii. 5; רִיחָנִי aromatic, Nid. 52 a; בֵּינוֹנִי middle, Ter. iv. 3; עִירוֹנִי urban, 'Ed. ii. 5; פְּלוֹנִי So-and-So, Git. vi. 3; גִּדְּרָנִיּוֹת a species of berry, Ber. 57 b.

271. (v) Suffix --- , Fem. and chiefly denominative: תּוּבָנִית tub, Šab. xxiv. 5; וְבוֹרִית poorest soil, Git. v. 1; וְרַעִית family, San. iv. 5; חֲבִית cask, Šab. xvi. 3; חֲרָסִית pottery, MŠ v. 1; טָלִית shawl, Me'il. vi. 4; יִבְלִית pulp, Kel. iii. 6; כְּפָנִית date berry, 'Or. i. 9; עֲדִית best soil, Šebi. v. 4; עֶרְבִית evening, Ber. i. 1; שַׁחֲרִית morning, ib. 2; שַׁחֲצִית insolence, j. Šeq. iv. 4.

With Diminutive force: גִּדְּרִית a little band,² Sifra 110 c; ruined partition wall, 'Er. v. 1; כִּדְרִית little pitcher, t. Men. ix. 10; קִטְנִית pulse, Pea i. 4. Perhaps also: דִּוְנִית a light fisher-boat, BB 78 b; סְנוֹנִית a swallow, Šab. 77 b; עֲפָסִית pounded wheat or peas, t. Be. i. 23.

¹ Cf. BH. שֶׁלֶחָנִי from שֶׁלֶחָה, &c. Ges.-K., § 85 v.

² So Raši to Lev. xxvi. 31. But *Rabad* to the Sifra, l.c., explains our word as 'foundation', and this is adopted by Levy, s. v.

Cf. also the reduplicated forms with this suffix enumerated above, § 244.¹

272. (vi) Suffix ית—, chiefly used in forming abstracts from concrete nouns: אומנות handicraft, Qid. iv. 14; אגנות grief, MŠ v. 12; ארסות tenancy; חקירות tenure, Bik. i. 11; ננות disgrace, Pes. x. 4; זכות merit, So. iii. 4; חרות freedom, Pes. x. 5; טעות error, Ned. ix. 10; ילדות childishness, So. i. 4; מלכות kingdom, Ab. iii. 5; משיחות office of anointed priest, Ho. iii. 1; נקיות cleanliness, So. ix. 15; עניות poverty; עשירות riches, Qid. iv. 14; קלות lightness, Ab. iii. 13; רשות permission, ib. 15; רשות authority, ib. i. 10; שעה while, RH 30 b; תרפות obscenity, 'AZ. ii. 3.

Also in *nomina actionis*: נמילות doing, Ab. i. 2; פרישות separation, abstinence, So. ix. 15; שפיכות shedding, 'AZ. ii. 1; cf. above, § 228.

This suffix is sometimes combined with another suffix: אחריות responsibility, BM ii. 7; פורענות, punishment, Ab. ii. 7; רבנות authority, ib. 10; רבילות contract, BM x. 4 (cf. also Dalman, p. 182).

(6) *Formation by Sound-insertion.*

273. (i) Insertion of a Vowel Sound to form Diminutives. The original Ground-form was *Qufail* (cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*, pp. 312 ff.; Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, i. § 137), but in MH the diphthong *ai* was contracted to *é* and *î*. The first vowel *u* was also contracted in most cases to *Shewa*. We thus get the forms *Qufél*, *Qefél*, and *Qefîl*.

Qufél. The only examples are the feminines בורירה² a little oil press, Šebi. viii. 6 and שומירה³ a watchman's hut, 'Er. ii. 5.

¹ Several BH nouns ending in ית— may also, perhaps, be regarded as diminutive forms, e.g. צלחות, 2 Kings ii. 20, as compared with צלחת (ib. xxi. 13, and, especially, 2 Chron. xxxv. 13), מנקית, Exod. xxv. 29, שערית.

² This is the reading of the best texts, including L. Other texts have בוריה, like the Qefîl forms below.

So N., M., and editions. In BB iv. 8 editions have שומירה, but N.

Qeḥel: חֵרִיר¹ eyelet of a needle, Kel. xiii. 3; סָלִיל shuttle, Neg. xi. 9. Cf. BH וְעִיר. Perhaps also פְּלִיטָה, שְׁאָרִית, and אֶלִּיל, a contemptuous diminutive of אֵל, or אֶל naught.² Also Aram. וְלִילָא, וְלִילָא Targum Prov. xiv. 6; xii. 9; xxvii. 7.

Qeḥil, all feminine: חֲפִיסָה a small bag, BM i. 8 (cf. t. ib. i. 14); כְּנִימָה vermin, Makš. vi. 1; כְּפִיפָה or קְפִיפָה (L)³ basket, Ter. ix. 3; עֲרִיסָה cradle, Kel. xvi. 1 (contrast with BH עָרֵשׁ. A full-sized bed is always מִטָּה in MH); סָלִילָה a little basket, 'AZ ii. 7 (L and N. Other texts have סְלִילָה). So in proper names: חֲנִינָה (or חֲנִינָא) from חֲנִינָה; עֲקִיבָה (עֲקִיבָא)—עֲקִיבָה.

That the formation is original in MH, and not borrowed from Aram. (Barth, loc. cit.), is shown by its comparative frequency in MH as compared with its scarcity in Aram.

274. (ii) Insertion of a Consonantal Sound.

ר: חֲרָדוֹם stump, t. Pa. xii. 2; חֲרָדוֹל a kind of locust, Šab. vi. 10; חֲרָטוֹם beak, Ṭoh. i. 2; קְרָטוֹב a small measure, Miq. iii. 2; קְרָפָף enclosure, 'Er. ii. 3.

ג: חֲרָנְגוֹל cock, fem. חֲרָנְגוֹלָת. Pes. iv. 7 (from רָגַל, רָגַן, if not a foreign word).

(7) *Formation of Nouns from Biblical Expressions.*

275. Certain Biblical expressions have given rise to new nouns of a technical nature. Thus, בְּרֵאשִׁית creation (Gen. i. 1); Ber.

שׁוּמִירָה; t. ib. iii. 4, שׁוּמִירָה. In Kil. v. 3, M. and edd. have שׁוּמִירָה, N. שׁוּמִירָה. L has in all these passages שׁוּמִירָה. Cf. Maimonides and other commentaries, *ad loc.*

¹ מִחַט שְׁנִיטָל חֲרִירָה a needle, the eyelet of which has been removed
שְׁלֵל סְקִינִין שְׁנִיטָל חֲרִירָה a needle of sack-makers, the eyelet of which, &c.
Cf. Syr. سوسل.

² Cf. Sirach xi. 3: אֶלִּיל בְּעוֹף דְּבוֹרָה.

³ From כַּפָּה. L and other texts have more correctly קְפִיפָה, diminutive of קוּפָּה. So elsewhere, e.g. So. ii. 1; Kel. xxvi. 1. Cf. Wright, *Comp. Gr.*, p. 167; Kohut, iv. 298.

ix. 2; אֶבְיָן וְרֵקִין, the particles אֶ and בֶּ RH 17b; אֶתִּין the particle אֶ BQ 41b; לֹאִין prohibitionists (לֹא = לאו) Yeb. 10b; עוֹרִין (L, edd. עורין) extras, plur. of עוֹר Men. vii. 2; Ter. iv. 7; אוֹיִים plur. of או or א Šebu. 33b; 'עֲשֵׂה' (מִצְוֹת) command of affirmation; 'לֹא תַעֲשֶׂה' (מִצְוֹת) command of prohibition, Qid. i. 7; 'יֵבֵא בְּלֹא יָבֵא' who is included in the command: 'He shall not enter' (Deut. xxiii. 3); Yeb. iv. 13; 'לֹא תִתֵּן' because of the command 'Thou shalt not give' (Lev. xxv. 37), BM v. 11; נוֹהֵג 'אוֹתוֹ וְאֶת בְּנוֹ' the command 'It and its young' (Lev. xxii. 28) is in force, &c., Hul. v. 1.

(8) *Diminutives*.¹

276. We may summarize here the various methods employed by MH to express the diminutive. Most of these forms have already been given above.

(i) Reduplication.

(a) Ground-form *Qaṭlul*, especially with the termination יֵחַ, § 244.

(b) Ground-form *Qaṭalṭul*, § 245.

(ii) By means of Suffixes.

(a) Suffix יֵחַ, § 268.

(b) Suffix יֵחַ, § 271.

(iii) Insertion of Vowel-Sound (*Qutail*).

(a) Ground-form *Qutel*, § 273.

(b) Ground-form *Qetel*, § 273.

(c) Ground-form *Qetil*, § 273.

(iv) By periphrasis with בְּנֵי בְּצֻלִים : בֶּן young onions, t. 'Uq. ii. 8; בֶּן זֶמֶל young camel, Hul. 59a; בֶּן חֲרִיץ small ditch, BB vii. 4; בֶּן גֶּז young hawk, M^ekil. (Weiss) 40; בֶּן פִּטְיִשׁ small hammer, Kel. xxix. 7. Perhaps also בֵּית קוֹל the *Bath Qol*, Yeb. xvi. 6. Cf. BH בֶּן בָּקָר; בְּנֵי יוֹנָה, &c.

¹ For a full treatment of diminutive forms in BH and MH cf. M. H. Segal, *מרעי היהדות in הנעירות בעברית*, vol. i (Jerusalem, 1926), pp. 139-54.

3. Formation of the Feminine.

277. In the formation of the Feminine, MH follows faithfully the rules of BH, except that it uses more frequently the older and more expressive termination ת־. But the termination ה־ is still the more common of the two.

(i) ה־ is found in nouns like יְבָמָה a brother's childless widow, Yeb. ii. 3; חֵלְלָה illegitimate issue of a priest, Qid. iv. 6; לְוִיָּה a Levite woman, Qid. iii. 5; נְתִינָה female descendant of the Gibeonites, Yeb. ii. 4; גִּדְיָה she-kid, Men. xiii. 7; חֲמוּזָה she-ass, t. Kil. v. 4; רֵחֶלָה ewe, Hul. xi. 2.

Further, concrete nouns: גִּימָה hole, Hul. ii. 9; מְנוּפָה stopper, Šab. xxii. 3; מְחִיצָה party-wall, Kil. iv. 4. Abstracts: חֻקָּה usucaption; קִטְטָה strife; שְׁרָרָה dominion (§ 224); חֻכָּה duty, Naz. ii. 8; קוּרָה cooling, Ab. iv. 17.

Verbal nouns: אֲכִילָה, וְרִיעָה, שְׁתִּיָּה (§ 228); בִּטְלָה, סִפְנָה (§ 237); הוּצָאָה, הִבְדָּאָה, הִבְדָּלָה (§ 252).

Usually in Adjectives: טְהוּרָה pure, Ket. ii. 5; צְרִיכָה necessary, Yeb. v. 2; עֲנִיָּה poor; עֲשִׁירָה rich, Qid. iii. 5; גִּסָּה stout, big; דַּקָּה thin, small, ib. i. 4.

Participles: Exclusively in Participle active Qal of Intransitive verbs of the form *Qaṭel*, and Participle passive Qal (§ 113). Predominantly in Partic. of ע"י (except the Intensive Stem and Hoph'al (§§ 178 ff.); ל"ה verbs, and often in ל"א (§ 112).

On the Aramaizing spelling of ת־ for ה־ cf. above, § 38 footnote.

278. (ii) ת־, ת־ (after a guttural): נְיוּרָת woman proselyte, Yeb. vi. 5; נְתִינָת female descendant of the priests, ib. xvi. 7; מְמוּרָת bastardess, ib. ii. 4; חֲרִישָׁת mute; פִּינְחָת with full senses, ib. xiii. 8; אִלְמָת dumb; גִּדְמָת without arm, Hul. 79 a; קַרְחָת bald, BB 132 a; נְרִנָּת windpipe, Hul. iii. 1; עוּלָלָת small bunch, Pea vii. 4; פִּרְפִּרָת dessert, Ab. iii. 18.

Participles: cf. §§ 111, 118, 122, 144.

279. (iii) Termination יתְ, in nouns and adjectives: חֲבִית, עֲדִית, שְׁחָרִית (§ 271); אֶרְמִית Pes. 112 b; צוּרִית, מְדַבֵּרִית Tyrian, Ma'a. iii. 5; אֶמְצָעִית, עוֹלָמִית, פּוֹנֵדָקִית inn-keeper, Yeb. xvi. 7; חֲבֻלָּנִית destructive, Mak. i. 10; חֲנֻנִית shop-keeper, Ket. ix. 4; יוֹצְאָנִית gadding about, Gen. R. 45; פִּינוּנִית Kel. xvii. 9 (§ 270).

280. (iv) Termination יתְ, only in abstracts: מַלְקָהּ scourging, Mak. i. 3; עֲבָדִית slavery, Pes. 116 b; נְנוּת, זְכוּת (§ 272).

4. The Formation of the Plural.

(1) Masculine Nouns.

281. The plur. termination of masc. nouns is in MH almost as often יָ as יִם. The termination יָ is not an Aramaism. -in is probably the more original of the two terminations, since -n is common to nearly all Semitic languages. It is the only one found on the Meša' stone, though Phoenician uses only -im. In BH the form -in is found frequently,¹ and as early as the Song of Deborah (מְדִין Judges v. 10). It must have been more common still in the spoken language. Its frequent occurrence in MH can, therefore, be explained as a purely Hebraic phenomenon. However, in very many cases it is due to the Aramaizing proclivities of the copyists, as is proved by comparing different texts.

282. The following peculiarities may be noted about the plur. of masc. nouns in MH.

Nouns of the Ground-form קוּטֵל (*Qull*) retain in many texts, especially those of Babylonian origin, the vowel letter ו also in the plur. Thus, אוֹנָם compulsion, אוֹנָם Ne'd. iii. 1; חוֹמֵשׁ one-fifth, חוֹמֵשׁ Ter. vi. 4; יוֹהָם pedigree, יוֹהָם Qid. iv. 1. This may be merely an orthographic peculiarity, and the first letter should be pronounced with a short vowel *ö* (,), as usually in L. But it

¹ Cf. Stade, § 323 a, where twenty-five examples are enumerated.

is also possible that the traditional pronunciation of the first vowel as long (\bar{o} - \bar{i}) is correct. The full spelling with \bar{i} would, therefore, represent a dialectal variation. Cf. in BH אֹרְחוֹתֶיךָ, אֹהֲלִים, &c.; Ges.-K., § 93 r.¹

The plur. of נֹזֶק damage, is נֹזְקִין BQ i. 1, as if from נֹזֶק; cf. BH פְּסָלִים — פְּסָל.

The plur. of שוּר is שְׁוֹרִים, construct, שְׁוֹרֵי Men. xiii. 9; of שוּק market, שְׁוּקִים Šab. 33 b; לְוָחִים, לְוָחֵי BM 117 a, לְוָחֵי Šab. xiv. 4. Cf. Ges.-K., § 93 w.

Some nouns from ע"ע roots, show the reduplicated form in the plur., on the analogy of the tri-radicals: צֶדֶד side, צְדָדִים Šab. xx. 4, צְדָדֵי BQ ii. 2 (so L correctly for צִדֵּי in editions); טֶל dew, טָלָלִים² Hag. 12 b; נֶשֶׁן cliff, נְשָׁנִים Oh. viii. 2. סָם also inserts נ before the termination, סְמָמָנִים³ spices, Ker. 6 a.

נֹרְדֵי weaver, Dam. i. 4, has the plur. נֹרְדֵיִם Ed. i. 3, on the analogy of עֲנִיִּים.

Nouns with suffix '— (א'—, cf. §§ 38, 237) reproduce the vowel letter א in the plur.: 'נָפֵא' innocent, 'נָפְאִים Ab. i. 8; רִשְׁאִי permitted, רִשְׁאִים ib. iv. 8. So בָּקִי expert, San. vii. 2, בָּקִיאִין Yo. viii. 5. L and other Pal. texts often have יִין—, וּבָיִין, &c. So בָּקִיִּין, וּבָיִיִן Ker. vi. 4.

Similarly, the ל"ה noun חֲצִי half, BQ iv. 9 = plur. constr. חֲצָאֵי Ed. iii. 1, חֲצָאִין Qid. 20 b, but also חֲצָאִין Ker. 5 a; Sifra 108 b; חֲצָאֵי Oh. viii. 6 (L. חֲצָאֵי). Cf. BH Ges.-K., § 93 x.

The plur. of שֶׁה lamb is שְׂאִין Bk. 11 a; cf. BH שִׂי Deut. xxii. 1. Forms ending in a vowel insert י (or א in Babylonian texts) between the final vowel and the plur. termination: מִשְׁהוּ (= מֶה

¹ So also with pronominal suffix; cf. above, § 39 and foot-note.

² Cf. BH הֶרְרִים, so Hag. i. 8; Ges.-K., § 93 aa. Contrast Aram. טָלִין j. Targ. Gen. xxvii. 28, &c.

³ Other forms are: סְמָמָנִים BQ 101 a; סְמָמָנִיּוֹת Šab. xii. 3, editions, or סְמִיּוֹנוֹת L and N.

+ (שְׁהוּא) something, מְשֻׁהוּיִן 'Ev. 87 a; אוּ or, אוֹיִים, אוֹיִי, j. Šebu. iv. 5; אוֹיִין Šebu. 33 b (cf. § 275).

רֵשָׁא remainder, has plur. constr. שְׂרִירֵי Ab. i. 2. The plur. is שְׂרִירִים (L) spelt in editions שְׂרִירִים, as dual and so pronounced traditionally : שְׂרִירִים. Cf. also the verbal form, § 162, and below, § 293.

A few nouns of the form *Qatāl* take in the plur. the form *Qatāl*: מְלִיחַ salty food, מְלִיחִין; צֶלִי roasted food, צֶלִיִּין Ned. vi. 3; שֶׁלִּי messenger, גִּיט. iv. 1, שְׁלֹחִין RH i. 3, שְׁלֹחִי Yo. i. 5. So with suffixes: שְׁלֹחִי, שְׁלֹחָה Qid. ii. 1; שְׁלֹחֵנוּ Yo. i. 5. L. has also שְׁלִיחַ for constr. sing., גִּיט. iii. 6, but absolute : שְׁלִיחַ.

(2) *Feminine Nouns.*

283. (i) Feminine nouns ending in the sing. in ת־, or ת־, ת־, form the plur. in וֹת—, e.g. שׁוֹרָה vow, שׁוֹרוֹת Pea vi. 3; תִּינוֹקָה little girl, תִּינוֹקוֹת Yo. viii. 4.

Some segolate nouns ending in ת retain the ת in the plur.: דֶּלֶת door, דֶּלֶתוֹת Tam. iv. 1; חֶמֶת leather bottle, חֶמֶתוֹת Kel. xxvi. 4; לְפֶת turnip, לְפֶתוֹת San. 19 b; בֶּסֶת bolster, בֶּסֶתוֹת Kil. ix. 2; סוֹלֶת fine flour, סוֹלֶתוֹת Šeq. iv. 3; שׁוֹקֶת trough, שׁוֹקֶתוֹת Pa. v. 8. Cf. for BH Ges.-K., 95 f.

The plur. of אֶשְׁפָּה, אֶשְׁפָּת dunghill, is אֶשְׁפָּתוֹת Šebi. i. 1, cf. above, § 249 note.

The plur. of עֲרִיָּה incest, is עֲרִיּוֹת Yeb. i. 2, as if from עֲרִיָּה. This last form is actually found in L., Hag. i. 10, and in K.,¹ 'Ed. i. 12. Cf. also B^k. vi. 5—genitals of animal; further, Habak. iii. 9.

284. (ii) Nouns ending in יִת— form the plur. in יוֹת—:² בִּינוֹנִית

¹ Cf. Krauss, *MGWJ.*, li, p. 325, note 1.

² The י in these forms, and also in the plur. of the nouns in the next section, serves to remove the *hiatus* between the final vowel of the sing. (יִת— without the fem. termination ת—) and the vowel at the beginning of the plur. termination יוֹת—; cf. מְשֻׁהוּיִן § 282, and the plur. of the nouns in § 286.

middle, *בִּינוּנִיּוֹת* Kel. xvii. 10; *חֲבִית* jar, *חֲבִיּוֹת* Ned. viii. 7; *טְלִית* cloak, *טְלִיּוֹת* Zab. iv. 5 (but also *טְלִיתוֹת* in later texts, e.g. Num. R. 18); *רְבִיעִית* quart, *רְבִיעִיּוֹת* Pes. 112 a; *תַּעֲנִית* fast, *תַּעֲנִיּוֹת* Ta'a. ii. 1; *חֲכָמִיּוֹת*, *דְּרָשָׁנִיּוֹת*, *צִדְקָנִיּוֹת* BB 119 b.

The plur. of *בְּרִית* covenant, is *בְּרִיתוֹת* Ned. iii. 2 (*בְּרִיּוֹת* is plur. of *בְּרִיָּה* = *בְּרִיאָה* creature, San. iv. 5); so *טְלִיתוֹת* above. Cf. *חֲנִיתוֹת* Ges.-K., § 87 k.

285. (iii) Nouns ending in the sing. in *—וֹת* form the plur. in *—וִיּוֹת*: *חֲנוּת* shop, *חֲנוּיּוֹת* 'AZ i. 4; *רְשׁוּת* premises, *רְשׁוּיּוֹת* t. Šab. i. 1; Hag. 15 a.

Some nouns in *—וֹת* take the termination *—וֹת*; *אִמְפָּנִיּוֹת* handicraft, *אִמְפָּנִיּוֹת* Bik. iii. 3; *זְכוּת* merit, *זְכוּיּוֹת* Yo. 86 b. So *אוֹת* letter of the alphabet, *אוֹתִיּוֹת* Šab. viii. 3 (*אוֹתוֹת* is plur. of *אוֹת* sign, Kil. ix. 10).

So also a few other nouns: *בִּקְעָת* log of wood, *בִּקְעָיּוֹת* Hul. 37 b; Sifre 99 d; *פִּקְעָת* skein, *פִּקְעָיּוֹת* Kel. xvii. 2; *בִּנְיָת* (בֵּית) Synagogue, *בִּנְיָיּוֹת* Kel. xvii. 2; *פְּרָשָׁה* section; *פְּרָשָׁיּוֹת* sections of Scripture (*פְּרָשׁוֹת* sections of the spine, Hul. 45 b).

(3) Foreign Nouns.

286. The plur. of nouns borrowed from Gk. and Lat. is formed, like that of native nouns, by attaching the plur. termination *—ים*, *אוֹת*—, to the sing. in its MH form,² thus: *טָפוּס* (τῑφος = τύπος), *טָפוּסִים* (τῑפוּסִים) Da. v. 3, 4; *סִיטוֹן* (= σιτώνης), *סִיטוֹנֹת* ib. ii. 4; *אַפִּיקוֹרוֹס* (= Epicurus), *אַפִּיקוֹרוֹסִים* Ber. ix. 5; *אַסָּר* (assarius), *אַסָּרוֹת* Pea viii. 1; *הֶדְיוֹט* (= ἡδῶτης), *הֶדְיוֹטוֹת* San. x. 2.

¹ This gave rise to the sing. *בִּנְיָה*, Ab. iv. 11. L has *בִּנְיָהָ*.

² Cf. Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, i, §§ 315–25; Albrecht, § 84 k, l. *לִיסְטִים*, Pea ii. 7, plur. of *לִיסְטִים* (= λῑστής: *לִסְטִים אַחֵר*, Yeb. 25 b) forms an exception, cf. Kohut, v, p 46 a. Usually the sing. is also written *לִסְטִים*. Further: *אַסְקְרִיטִים* = ἐσχαρίτης, Hal. i. 4.

In the case of fem. nouns ending in the sing. in the vowel \bar{a} (= אָ, הָ), א, or usually in Palest. texts, י, is inserted between the final vowel of the sing. \bar{a} , and the vowel \acute{o} (= אוֹ) of the plur. termination, in order to obviate the meeting of two vowels. Thus: טַבְּלָהּ (טַבְּלָא = tabula), טַבְּלָאוֹת Pes. 57 a; דְּיוֹטָא, דְּיוֹטָהּ (= διώτα), דְּיוֹטָאוֹת, דְּיוֹטָהּ (L), 'Er. viii. 11; גְּזוּזְטָא, גְּזוּזְטָהּ (= ἐξώστρα), גְּזוּזְטָאוֹת, גְּזוּזְטָהּ (L) כְּעוּצְרוֹת, כְּעוּצְרוֹת, cf. §§ 44, 51; גִּימְטְרָא (= γεωμετρία) גִּימְטְרָאוֹת Ab. iii. 18. Some foreign nouns have become fully naturalized in the language, and form their plur. regularly, e.g. דּוּגְמָא (= δεῦγμα), דּוּגְמוֹת BQ 119 b.

This form of the fem. plur. termination for foreign nouns, אֹתָּ, יוֹתָּ, is also used for Gk. nouns ending in the sing. in י (= η): דְּיִיתִיקָא, דְּיִיתִיקָהּ (= διαθήκη), אֶפֶסְתִּיקָא, אֶפֶסְתִּיקָהּ (= ὑποθήκη), אֶפֶסְתִּיקָאוֹת BM 19 a; so: קַטְבְּלָאוֹת, plur. of καταβολή, Šeq. iii. 4. Further, גְּלוֹסְקָא, גְּלוֹסְקָהּ (= κόλλιξ), Da. vi. 12; also: גְּלוֹסְקָא Pes. 6 b, plur.: גְּלוֹסְקָאוֹת Ket. 111 b; סְנֵהֶרֶין (= συνέριον; also: סְנֵהֶרֶי), plur.: סְנֵהֶרֶיִת San. i. 5 (L. סְנֵהֶרֶאוֹת; so Cant. R. iii. 7).

287. This plur. termination, אֹתָּ, יוֹתָּ became very common through the influx of Gk. and Lat. nouns into the language, especially in later MH. As a result this termination is also found sometimes in native nouns, thus: מְקוּהָ a ritual bath, מְקוּהָאוֹת Šeq. i. 1 (but L has מְקוּהָ; so Miq. i. 1, &c.); מְרִחָא a bathing establishment, מְרִחָאוֹת (מְרִחָיוֹת) Ta'a. i. 6; מְשֻׁתָּהּ a feast, מְשֻׁתָּאוֹת Nid. 16 b; פֶּרֶפֶרֶת dessert, פֶּרֶפֶרֶאוֹת (beside גִּימְטְרָאוֹת) Ab. iii. 18, but also: פֶּרֶפֶרֶאוֹת Šab. 148 b; שֶׁלְשֶׁלֶת chain, שֶׁלְשֶׁלֶת 'Er. 58 a; also the Aram. noun בִּירָאוֹת (בִּירִיּוֹת) cisterns, 'Er. ii. 1.

The plur. of אִמָּ mother, is אִמָּהוֹת Qid. iv. 4; Pea iii. 4 (cf. BH אִמָּהוֹת maids; also Dalman, p. 199), but also: אִמָּהוֹת אִמָּהוֹתָם t. BB vii. 9. Of אָחוֹת sister, אָחוֹתָם Yeb. ii. 6, as in BH.

288. As in BH, numerous masc. nouns form the plur. by אוֹ, e.g. חוֹתָם seal, חוֹתָמוֹת Šeq. v. 1; חֵן favour, חֲנוּת So. 47 a; כָּלָל

general rule, בָּלָלוֹת 'Er. 25 a; מִדְבָּר wilderness, מִדְבָּרוֹת Hul. ii. 8; מִקְרָא verse, מִקְרָאוֹת Ber. 32 a; נָיִיר paper, נַיִירוֹת Pa. x. 6; תִּינוֹק male infant; תִּינוֹקוֹת (שְׁנֵי) Šab. xix. 4; especially nouns with the suffix לָ, לָן, אֵלָן : אֵילָן tree, אֵילָנוֹת Šebi. i. 2; זָדוֹן act of presumption, זָדוֹנוֹת BM 33 b; סִילוֹן pipe, סִילוֹנוֹת Kel. ii. 3; עֶנֶן subject, עֲנַיִנוֹת Šab. 61 b; צָנוֹן horse-radish, צָנוֹנוֹת Šab. ii. 2; קָרְבֵּן sacrifice, קָרְבָּנוֹת Zeb. xiv. 10. Further, *nomina agentis* of the form *Qatōl* (§ 235): דְּרוֹכוֹת, לְקוֹחוֹת, &c.

So also a number of nouns from ע' roots; נֵיִם troop, נֵיִסוֹת Yeb. xvi. 7; חֵיל army, חַיִּילוֹת Sifra 89 d, but also חַיִּילִים Mekil. 63; עִיר city, עִירוֹת Meg. i. 1, but also עָרִים 'Er. v. 1; פֶּיִם lot, פִּסְמוֹת Yo. ii. 3. Similarly, מַיִם water, מֵימוֹת j. So. ii. 2; יַיִן wine, יַיִנוֹת Šeq. iv. 4.

ה' nouns: קָלִיא parched corn; קָלִיוֹת BM iv. 12; בָּלִי (or, perhaps, בָּלִי, בָּלָאוֹת (בָּלִי, בָּלוּת) L; בָּלוּת) cf. בָּלוּתִי and בָּלוּי Jer. xxxviii. 11, 12); but the construct is בָּלָאִי Suk. ii. 3, בָּלוּי Kel. xxvii. 5.

The same difference between the plur. absolute and construct is found also in other nouns; thus: שְׁטָר document, שְׁטָרוֹת, שְׁטָרִי BM ii. 5; וָלֵד child, וָלָדוֹת, וָלָדִי, in the phrase וָלָדִי וָלָדוֹת Bek. ii. 4; פֶּרִי fruit, פִּירוֹת, פִּירִי, in the phrase פִּירִי פִירוֹת Ket. ix. 1; אֵילָנוֹת trees, Šebi. i. 2; אֵילָנִי So. viii. 2, 3; בַּת group, בָּתוֹת Pes. v. 5; בָּתִּי Naz. iii. 7.

Verbal nouns of the Ground-form *Haqtel* (§ 251), being really fossilized infinitives, have no plur. of their own. They use the plur. of the corresponding verbal noun *Haqtala*, e.g. הַעֲלָם concealed act, plur. הַעֲלָמוֹת Šab. xii. 4, 6; הַקְדָּשׁ sanctified property, Ter. i. 5; הַקְדָּשׁוֹת San. i. 3, &c. So the infinitival noun בָּרַת (§ 116) is in the plur. בְּרִיתוֹת, from the verbal noun בְּרִיתָה (§ 228), Ker. i. 1.

289. Conversely, many fem. nouns take the masc. termination in the plur. Thus, חֲטָה wheat, חֲטָיִם; שְׁעוֹרָה barley, שְׁעוֹרִים; בּוֹסְמֵן spelt, בּוֹסְמֵיִן Šebu. iii. 3; דִּלְעֵין pumpkin, דִּלְעֵיִן Kil. iii. 7;

קִישוּאִין קִישָׁה leek, Makš. i. 5, כְּרִישִׁין Kil. i. 2; קִישוּאִין cucumber, Kil. xx. 4, 6; פִּגָּה fig, t. Šebi. i. 1, פִּגִּים Šebi. iv. 7; further, אֶרְנָבִים hare, אֶרְנָבִים Šab. 27 a; יוֹנָה pigeon, יוֹנִים San. iii. 3; נִמְלָה ant, נִמְלִים Pea iv. 1; בִּיצָה egg, בִּיצִים Hul. xii. 3. Further, גְּדִילָה, גְּדִילִים (Deut. xxii. 12), Sifre Num. xv. 38; נִימָה chord, נִימִים Šeq. viii. 5. Cf. Ges.-K., § 87 q.

290. Some nouns show both plurals: פְּרִירָה pair of pigeons, פְּרִירִים Kin. iii. 6 in L; Sifra 8 d; פְּרִירוֹת Kin. ib. (in editions); BQ 38 b; רְחֵלִים and רְחֵלוֹת ewes, Hul. xi. 1, 2 (in L; cf. Hul. 137 b (above, § 3)); מִסְמְרוֹת BB 7 b, and מִסְמְרִים Gen. R. 68, nails, מִשְׁלִים So. 9 a, and מִשְׁלוֹת Ab. d^eRN. i. 4; San. 38 b, parables.¹

Sometimes there is a variation in meaning between the two plurals: יָמִים days, Yo. i. 1, and יָמוֹת collective: season (only in constr.), Ber. i. 5; Šeq. viii. 1; T^oh. vi. 7; שָׁנִים years, Ab. v. 21, and שָׁנוֹת collective: age, only with suffix, Ber. 58 b; עֲצָמִים single bones, and עֲצָמוֹת collective, 'Ed. i. 7; קְבָרִים graves, Ta'a. 25 b, and קְבָרוֹת collective, burial-place, Naz. ix. 3.² With a derived significance in the secondary plur.: עֲרֻשִׁים lentils, Kil. xi. 8, and עֲרֻשֹׁת lentil measures, Neg. vi. 1; שְׁפָתִים lips, Ket. 61 b (also שְׁפָחוֹת San. 90 b, with suffix only), and שְׁפִיּוֹת rims, Kel. iv. 4; רַבִּים many, 'AZ i. 7, and רַבּוֹת teachers (only with suffix), 'Er. v. 3; תְּמָרִים date palms, Bik. i. 5, and תְּמָרוֹת young branches of other trees, Ma'a. iv. 6, &c.; שִׁנָּיִם teeth and שִׁנְנִים teeth of rock, cliffs, Oh. viii. 2; תְּפִלָּה, תְּפִלוֹת prayer, Ber. iii. 1, and תְּפִלִּין phylacteries, Men. iv, 1; iii. 7; אֱלֹהוֹת gods; אֱלֹהִים God; 'AZ iv. 7; יָדִים hands; יָדוֹת handles, Yo. iii. 2.

291. In the lists given above, the reader will have observed several nouns with plur. in MH which in BH are only found in the sing., e.g. בְּרִית, יֵין, סוּלָת, &c. To these may be added many

¹ But prob. read מִמְשָׁלוֹת; cf. Lewin, אנרת ר' שרירא, p. iii (נספחים).

² For the original collective sense of the fem. termination, cf. Stade, § 322 c.

more examples: אָבֶר, אֲבָרִים limbs, parts of the body, Yo. vi. 6; דְּשָׂא, דְּשָׂאִים herbs, Ber. vi. 1; וְנוּעָה, וְנוּעוֹת earthquakes, ib. ix. 2; וְרָעִים plants, Šab. 95 b; 31 a; חוֹל, חוֹלִין common things, H̄ul. v. 1; יֶרֶק, יֶרֶקוֹת vegetables, Ber. vi. 1; כֶּסֶף, כֶּסָּפִים money, BM 42 a; מְזוֹן, מְזוֹנוֹת maintenance, Sebi. iv. 1; קֶמַח, קֶמַחוֹת various kinds of flour, Mēn. viii. 7; רֶמֶשׂ, רֶמֶשִׁים creeping things; שֶׁקֶץ, שֶׁקָּצִים reptiles, Šebu. iii. 4; רָעַם, רָעָמִים thunders, Ber. ix. 2; שֶׁה, שֶׁהִין sheep, Bēk. 11 a; שֶׁלֵּג, שֶׁלֵּגִים snow, Pes. 94 b; שֶׁמֶן, שֶׁמָּנִים oils, Suk. iv. 4; תָּמִיד, תָּמִידִים the daily offerings, sacrifices (Num. xxviii. 3), Šeq. iv. 1.

292. Conversely, many nouns which in BH appear only in the plur., are found in MH also in the sing. In addition to those given in the above lists (e.g. בִּיצָה, חֲנוּת, סֶם, &c.) may be mentioned: אֶלְמוּג red sandal wood, Kil. xiii. 6; בָּצֵל onion, Šebi. i. 10; זוֹיֵית corner, Šab. xii. 4; סֶנֶן chief of priests, Pes. i. 6; בִּירָה hearth, Šab. iii. 1 (BH בִּירִים); שֶׁקֶמָה sycamore, Kil. i. 8, &c.

5. The Dual.

293. The Dual, which has practically disappeared from Aram., is quite common in MH. Not only has MH retained the old BH duals like עֵינַיִם, רַגְלַיִם, שְׁוִיָּים, בְּבָרַיִם, בְּפָלַיִם, מְאֲתָיִם, &c., but it has also preserved the absolute form of the dual of nouns which in BH occur only in the construct or with suffixes, e.g. גְּבִיִּים back, Kel. xxv. 5; עַפְעָפִים eyelids, Šab. 109 a; קֶרְבַּיִם intestines, Tam. iv. 2; קֶרְסוּלַיִם ankles, H̄ul. iii. 7; שְׂוִילַיִם skirts, Kel. xv. 1. The following are new formations: אַחֲרָיִם back, Kel. xxv. 1; אֶצְבָּעַיִם two fingers, Oh. iii. 1; בֵּינִתָּיִם between, BM x. 6; גְּפִיִּים wings. H̄ul. iii. 4;¹ דִּירָיִם shed, t. Ned. i. 3; זְרֵתַיִם two spans, t. Mēn. ix. 3; Ta'a. 5 a; חֲנִיכָיִם gums, H̄ul. 103 b; טִלְפָּיִם hooves, H̄ul. ix. 1; טַפְחָיִם two

¹ i. e. the limbs on which the plumage, כְּנָפִים, grows. Hence the Mishnah says: נִשְׁתַּבְּרוּ גְּפִיָּה, but נִמְרְטוּ כְּנָפִיָּה, ib.

Borrowings from Aram. are : אֶשְׁתַּקֵּד, לְאַחֵר (עַל אַחֵר), תִּדְרִיר; probably also עֲרֵא, כְּנֹן (= כְּעֵין), and perhaps also תִּבְרָךְ, לָאוּ.¹ So also שׁוּב is an Aramaism = חוּב.

(1) *Adverbs of Place.*

295. אֵיכֵן (אֵי + כֵן), commonly הֵיכֵן, especially in Babyl. texts, where? Šab. i. 3; Šeq. vi. 1. So in Aram. (cf. Barth, *Pronominalbildung*, p. 81), but very probably indigenous in MH.

With prepositions : לְהֵיכֵן whither? Šab. xvi. 1; מֵהֵיכֵן whence? Yo. v. 5; עַד הֵיכֵן until where? Pes. x. 6.

הֵילֵךְ, or הִלְךָ, הִלְךָ, only in phrase הֵילֵךְ . . . הִלְךָ, hither and thither, Pes. vii. 13; Zab. iii. 2; or הִילָךְ וְהִילָךְ Mak. iii. 12.

אֵין where? only with prepos. : לְאֵין whither? Ter. iv. 11; Ab. iii. 1 (many texts have לָאֵין); מֵאֵין whence? Ab. ib.; וּמֵאֵין וּלְאֵין Hag. 15a; more often מִיֵּין : Ber. v. 3; Yo. vi. 8; especially when introducing quotations from Scripture : Šab. ix. 1 ff., &c.

בֵּינֵהֶם (especially in L.) between, BM x. 6. Cf. BH בֵּינֵם 1 Sam. xvii. 4; בֵּינוֹת Ezek. x. 2; perhaps there was a form בֵּינוֹתֵם Gen. xxvi. 28. So בֵּינֵיהֶם וּבֵינֵיהֶם in the very centre, Gen. R. 4.

לְהֵן there, j. Ket. 28 d; Git. 46 d; usually with ל : לְהֵן beyond, Dam. i. 3. So. vii. 5.

חִוּין outside, with prepositions : מִחִוּין Zeb. vii. 5; מִבְּחוּין from outside, 'Er. vii. 9; לְחוּין outside, after verb of motion, Zeb. viii. 12; מִן הַמּוֹדִיעִית וּלְחוּין from Modin and outside beyond, as opposed to מִן הַמּוֹדִיעִית וּלְפָנֵים Hag. iii. 5.

is improbable. Perhaps the Aram. form אֶרְיִן is more original, and is to be equated with the BH אֶרֶץ. On עֲכָשׁוּ cf. Dalman, p. 212, foot-note.

¹ From הוּא + לָא, cf. Dalman, § 46. This particle is, however, much more common in MH than in Aram. The traditional pointing לָאוּ is incorrect, as is shown by the cognate form עֲכָשׁוּ, עֲכָשׁוּ; cf. also BH יַחְדּוֹ, יַחְדּוֹ. Some Palest. texts also write לָיו for לָאוּ above § 39.

פֶּאן, פֶּן in Pal. texts, here, there (BH פֹּה = פֹּא) : פֶּאן וְכֵאן here and there, 'Er. x. 11; לָכֵאן, after a verb of motion, 'Er. 40 b; מִכֵּאן . . . מִכֵּאן on the one side, on the other side, Kil. vi. 6; פֶּאן וְעַד פֶּאן from here to there, Be. iv. 7.

מָה : כַּמָּה how far? Ber. iii. 5.

מִטָּה, or מִטָּן in Palest. texts and also occasionally in others, especially in passages connected with the Temple and its ritual, Mid. i. 5, &c. This adverbial termination לְ- is a modification of the BH מִ- , cf. Ges.-K., § 100 g, h, and above, § 267.

Always with prepositions : לְמִטָּה below, Hag. ii. 1; מִלְמִטָּה from below, 'Er. viii. 6; מִלְמִטָּן Šab. 98 b.

מִלְמַעְלָה, מִלְמַעְלָה, מִלְמַעְלָה above, used exactly as מִטָּה cf. the passages cited above.

לְמַפְרַע, only with ל : לְמַפְרַע backwards, Ber. ii. 3.

לָשָׁם there; after verbs of motion : לָשָׁם (= BH שָׁמָּה, which is not found in MH) RH ii. 5; Šab. xvi. 4, &c.

(2) *Adverbs of Time.*

296. אַחֲרָא only with prepos. ל : לְאַחֲרָא backwards, Hag. ii. 1.

מִעֲוָרָא וְאַיְלָף further, onwards; מִכֵּאן וְאַיְלָף Ber. i. 2; מִעֲוָרָא וְאַיְלָף Pa. iii. 5.

אִימְתִּי שְׁתַּרְצָה (L) when, Pea iii. 5; אִימְתִּי whenever thou wishest, BM v. 3; מֵאִימְתִּי from when, Ber. i. 1; עַד אִימְתִּי till when, ib. viii. 7.

אַשְׁתַּמָּר last year, Šeq. vi. 5 (Aram. compound : שְׁתָּא קַדְמָא; cf. אֲשַׁתְּמָרָא this year, j. MŠ 35 b).

אַתֵּר place (Aram.), with עַל : עַל אַתֵּר on the spot, forthwith, in Pal. texts; contracted in Babyl. texts to לְאַתֵּר Git. iii. 3; viii. 8.

בֵּינְתֵימִים between, meanwhile; Toh. v. 3, 4.

לְהָלֹן, only with ל : לְהָלֹן further, beyond; מִחֲצוֹת הַיּוֹם וְלְהָלֹן from noon and further, Men. x. 5.

יָד, with the preposition מִן : מִיָּד at once, BB i. 5 ; opposed to יָד עַל gradually, Pa. vii. 7 ; אֵין מְחַיֵּבִין אוֹתוֹ לְמַכּוֹר מִיָּד אֶלָּא מוֹכֵר עַל ; יָד עַל יָד they do not compel him to sell at once, but he may sell very gradually, BQ 80a. (So perhaps BH, Prov. vi. 5 ; cf. יָד מִן j. Targ. Gen. i. 3, &c. ; BH עַל יָד by degrees, Prov. xiii. 11.)

מִכָּאן (כָּן) only with מִן : מִכָּאן from now ; מִכָּאן וּלְהֵבָא from now and in the future, Kel. vii. 1 ; לְאַחַר מִכָּאן afterwards, Qid. ii. 6.

כְּבָר already, Yad. iv. 4 ; וּכְבָר a formula introducing a report of an event in confirmation of a previous statement, j. Ket. v. 4.

כָּךְ, only with אַחֲרֵי : אַחֲרֵי כָךְ afterwards, Ber. viii. 6 ; לְאַחֲרֵי כָךְ BM viii. 1.

מָה : עַד כַּמָּה how long? Bek. iv. 1.

מָחָר usually לְמָחָר to-morrow, 'Er. iii. 9. So וּלְמָחָרָת San. v. 5.

אִמְשׁ yesterday ; אִמְשׁ הִרְגוּ he slew him yesterday, San. 40b ; מֵאִמְשׁ, opposed to מֵהַיּוֹם Be. i. 6 (BH אֶתְמַל, which is common in Aram., is never used in MH).

מִפְּרַע : לְמִפְּרַע before, backwards, Miq. ii. 2.

עוֹד yet, again, Yo. vi. 1 ; with suff. : עוֹדֵהוּ Bik. iii. 6 ; עוֹדָה Ket. vii. 8 ; עוֹדֵךְ Šab. 151b ; עוֹדִין ib. 43b ; מְבַעוֹר while yet, Šab. i. 5.

עַדְיוֹ yet, Ned. xi. 10 (L אֶדְיוֹ, as in Aram., Dan. ii. 15).

עוֹלָם with prepos. : לְעוֹלָם always, Ter. ii. 4 ; with negative : never, MQ 26b ; so מֵעוֹלָם, with negative : never, Mak. i. 10 ; עוֹלָמִית for ever, Yeb. iii. 7 ; with negative : never, Šab. xxiii. 4.

עַכְשָׁיו now, 'AZ i. 1 ; מֵעַכְשָׁיו from now, Giṭ. vii. 3.

עֲרִי in Palest. texts, irregular, improvised, Hal. iii. 1 (opposed to קִבֵּעַ fixed, Suk. 2a).

פַּעַם אַחַת : פַּעַם once upon a time, 'Er. iv. 2 , פַּעַמִּים sometimes, BB v. 2.

שׁוּב again (Aram. תּוֹב), Yeb. xvi. 4, especially common in later literature.

תָּרִיד continually, always, BB iii. 1.

תְּכַף immediately, only once in Mishna: Men. ix. 8, but frequent in later literature, e.g. Ber. 42 a, &c. Cf. the verb, Kil. ix. 10.

297. Other adverbial expressions of time are: בְּרֵאשִׁית at the beginning, formerly, Šebi. iv. 1; תְּחִילָה first, So. i. 7, בְּתֵחֶלֶת (in Babyl. texts always לְבִתְחֵלֶת) as at the beginning, Šab. vi. 5, primarily, מִתְחֵלֶת 'AZ iii. 7, בְּתֵחֶלֶת Yeb. v. 6; בְּאֶמְצַע in the middle; בְּסוֹף in the end, ib.; מִמֵּי Zeb. xii. 4, מִמֵּי Suk. ii. 7, מִמֵּיהֶם Pes. i. 6, with לֹא, never; cf. BH 1 Kings i. 6, &c.

(3) *Adverbs of Manner.*

298. אֵין not; אֵין אָתָּה בָּא thou comest not, Ab. iv. 1; אֵין אָתָּם 'Er. v. 9; אֵין אֲנִי Šebu. iv. 2 ff. Suffixes are attached in some persons without the so-called *nun epentheticum*, as in BH (Ges.-K., § 100 o, p), thus: 1 sing. אֵינִי Ber. ii. 5; 3 sing. masc. אֵינוּ; fem. אֵינָה So. vi. 3; 3 plur. אֵינָן ib. viii. 3.

Before words beginning with א, אֵין is sometimes shortened to אֵי אֵי אָתָּה BM v. 3. So always before אָפֶשֶׁר: אֵי אָפֶשֶׁר impossible, Šebu. iii. 8, &c.; and אֵי אָפֶשִׁי אָפֶשִׁי I do not want, Naz. iv. 5.

אֵל not, Ab. i. 3, &c.

בֹּל = לֹא in quotations of Biblical prohibitions: Pes. iii. 1 (cf. below, § 472).

לְבַד alone, only with suffix: לְבַדָּה So. 8 a; or with בֶּ: בְּלִבְדָּה, after a negative, Ber. i. 1; or אֵלָא Dam. iii. 5 (§ 507).

הֵיכָּה how? BH; אֵיךְ RH ii. 8, &c.

הֵן yes, Git. vii. 1.

וְדַאי certainly (from וָדָה to confess, agree), Ker. v. 2; וְדַאי מְעֻלָּתִי I have certainly used sacred property; opposed to סָפֶק doubt: סָפֶק אָכַל perhaps he has eaten, ib. iv. 1.

חֲלִילָה round about, over again, Suk. v. 6; Pes. 48 b.

יָכוֹל one might assume, possibly, Ab. iii. 8; בְּיָכוֹל as if one

could say (of an anthropomorphic expression applied to the Deity), San. vi. 5. (Cf. Kohut, iv. 130-2.)

כָּמוֹ, כְּמוֹ (with the collective termination וְ—, as in BH כְּמוֹת, סְבִיבוֹת, &c.) like, followed by the relative שֶׁ MŠ v. 2, &c.

With suff.: כְּמוֹתֵי BM 59 b; כְּמוֹתֶךָ Ned. 4 b; כְּמוֹתוֹ Ber. v. 5; כְּמוֹתָה Qid. iii. 2; כְּמוֹתָן Suk. 1. 8.

כָּ as prefix: כְּאַחַד together, t. Neg. i. 1; Ber. vii. 1 (in edd.); כְּאַחַת Pea i. 4; Ber. ib. (L, of masc.).

כְּגוֹן like the colour of—like, as, for instance, Šebi. viii. 1; cf. כְּעֵין.

כְּכֵן¹ as much as, Šab. viii. 1.

כְּדֶרֶךְ as Kil. vii. 6; כְּדֶרֶכּוֹ as his manner, as usual, Ma'a. iii. 10.

כְּכֵן like, similarly; כְּכֵן² Pea iv. 8; כְּכֵן Šebi. viii. 2; כְּכֵן Mak. i. 7; כְּכֵן Sifra (Weiss) 4 a.

כְּכֵן (כָּ + אֵי + צַר), in Halakic Midrashim כְּכֵן, also כְּכֵן (כָּ + אֵי + צַר) how? Ber. vi. 1, &c.

כְּכֵן as if to say, San. vi. 4, 6; very common in later MH in sense of 'that is to say', 'namely'.

כְּכֵן how? Kil. ii. 3; כְּכֵן for how much? BM iv. 10; כְּכֵן how beautiful, Šab. 33 b; כְּכֵן וְכֵן על אַחַת כְּכֵן וְכֵן how much more and more? Mak. i. 7 (in arguments from minor to major).

כְּכֵן like the kind of, like, Suk. ii. 2.

כְּכֵן against, Dam. i. 2.

כְּכֵן straight, immediately, Tam. iii. 6; Pes. 37 a, 54 a.

כְּכֵן so, Ber. vii. 3; כְּכֵן at this, in this, Dam. i. 4; כְּכֵן

¹ Cf., however, Barth, *Etymolog. Stud.*, p. 39, who holds that the כָּ is a radical which suffered aphaeresis in BH.

² Cf. Sirach xxxviii. 17. It is also found in Aram., no doubt, as an adaptation from MH., כְּכֵן j. Targ. Gen. ii. 18, 20; Deut. xiv. 18. The origin of the expression is obscure. Perhaps we may derive it from the use of — כָּ in such a phrase as כְּכֵן שְׁכָרוֹ בְּהַפְסְדוֹ, &c., Ab. v. 11. 12, viz. to annul, and hence—to balance, to be equal, like.

whether so or so, Hal. i. 8 ; לָכֵן for this, Ab. ii. 8 ; לָכֵן וְלָכֵן Toh. vi. 6, 7 ; עַל פֶּךָ for this purpose, 'Ed. viii. 3.

כֵּן so, Ber. 11 b ; וְכֵן likewise, Pea vi. 9 ; כָּל שֶׁכֵּן everything agrees that it is so—how much more so? (in arguments from the minor to the major).

Before אֵלָּא כֵּן, כֵּן is contracted to כִּי in the phrase אֵלָּא כִּי it is not so but, Yeb. viii. 3 ; BQ iii. 11.¹

לֹא not, no.

לֹא not, no, particularly in alternatives after אִם, when the verb is omitted, Ber. iii. 2, 5, &c. (§§ 466, 489).

מָה how? Ber. 10, 2, with preposition : לָמָּה why? 'AZ ii. 7 ; מַפְּנֵי מָה wherefore? Šab. xvi. 1 ; בְּשֵׁבִיל מָה for which cause, purpose?

299. Other adverbial expressions of manner are : בְּיַחְדָּר privately, San. vii. 8 ; with certainty, Šeq. vi. 2 ; בְּעֵלִיל clearly, distinctly,² RH i. 5 ; בְּטוֹכָה with thanks, i.e. with owner's permission ; שְׁלֹא בְּטוֹכָה without thanks, against owner's will, Šebi. iv. 2 ; with, without gratuity, 'AZ iv. 3 ; שְׁלֹא בְּטוֹכָתוֹ against his will, San. vii. 2 ; בְּפִירוּשׁ distinctly, 'Or. i. 7.

כָּל עֵינָךְ 'all the root'—altogether, in a negation, Be. iii. 6 ; כָּל צֹרְכָךְ all the need—completely, with suff. : כָּל צֹרְכָה Kil. vii. 7.

בְּעַל פְּרָחָה : בִּי- perforce, Ab. iv. 22 ; in later MH with בִּי- against her will, So. 19 a, &c.

שְׁתֵּי שׁוּרוֹת לּוֹכֶסֶן (λογόν) across, in a hypotenuse line : שְׁתֵּי שׁוּרוֹת לּוֹכֶסֶן two rows in a cross line, Dam. vii. 8 ; Kel. xviii. 5.

¹ Others, following Geiger, *Lehrbuch*, p. 24, point כִּי, and regard the expression as an imitation of the BH לֹא כִּי (1 Sam. viii. 19, &c. ; cf. *BDB.*, p. 475 a), which was misinterpreted by the Rabbis. But such an artificial explanation is most improbable. לֹא כִּי only occurs before א, and is, therefore, parallel to אֵין from אֵין before א, as above.

² Cf. RH 21 b from Ps. xii. 7 ; further, Šab. 133 b ; M^en. 64 a ; Gen. R. 23 ; cf. also Barth, *Etymol. Stud.*, p. 65.

כִּירוּגִין ('chequer work'), alternately; קָרָאָה כִּירוּגִין he read it in alternate verses, M^{eg}. ii. 2; BQ 37 a.

סָתַם ('stopping up'), undefined, unspecified, Dam. iii. 1.

בָּלָל general statement; לֹא הָיוּ מְתַעֲנִין בָּלָל they did not fast at all, Ta'a. ii. 6.

בַּבַּת אַחַת in one *bat* (name of measure, Isa. v. 10)—in one stroke, at once, H^{ul}. ii. 3.

2. Prepositions.

300. MH prepositions are all of Heb. origin. They include (a) BH prepositions preserved in their old significance; (b) BH nouns or other forms turned by MH into prepositions, e. g. חֲמָה wrath: מִחֲמַת through the fury of, the energy, or activity of—through, by; קֹדֶם לְ— preceding, before; so עוֹבֵר לְ— upon the back of, upon; עַל מְנַת on the portion of, for the advantage of, for the sake of, on condition, in order that; so שֵׁם name, subject, and its various combinations.

The following BH prepositions have been lost in MH: אֶת (= עִם), בְּגִלְל, בְּעֵבֹר, בְּעֵד, מוֹל, לִמְעַן and פֶּן (Aram. פֶּון).

301. אַחֲרֵי the back, is used as a prepos. in the dual אַחֲרֵימָם (§ 293), in the sense of 'behind', corresponding to פָּנִים (below).

אַחֲרֵי שְׁתֵּיהֶן behind both, Mid. v. 4; אַחֲרֵי רַבּוֹ behind his master, opposed to בְּנֶגֶד רַבּוֹ Yo. 37 a. With prefixes לְ—, מִ—, אַחֲרָיו behind him, Kil. v. 7; לְאַחֲרֵיהֶן behind them, ib. 9; מֵאַחֲרֵי הַגֶּדֶר behind the wall, San. vii. 10; מֵאַחֲרָיו Git. viii. 2; מֵאַחֲרֵיהֶם So. viii. 6.

אַחֲרֵי, אַחֲרֵי with suffixes. Of time, after: אַחֲרֵי חֲצוֹת after midnight, Pes. x. 8; אַחֲרֵי שֵׁל מֹשֶׁה after Moses, So. v. 4; אַחֲרֵיהֶן after them, Ber. vi. 8. With prefix: אַחֲרֵי זְמַן after the time, afterwards, 'AZ i. 1; אַחֲרֵי חֲצוֹת after midnight, Z^{eb}. ix. 6; אַחֲרֵיהֶם after them, 'AZ i. 2; מֵאַחֲרֵיהֶּ after it, opposed to מִלְּפָנֶיהָ before it, 'Er. iii. 6.

Of place, behind; usually with prefix **ל**: **לְאַחַר הַחֶמֶה** : **ל** behind the sun, RH ii. 6; **שְׁלֹאֲחֵר הַקּוֹצְרִים** that which is behind the reapers (L **שְׁאֲחֵר**) Pea iv. 11; **לְאַחֲרֵיהֶם**, **לְאַחֲרָיו** behind him, them, opposed to; **לְפָנֵיהֶם**, **לְפָנָיו** before him, them, ib. vi. 4; **בְּלִאֲחֵר יָדוֹ** behind, with the back of, his hand (L **לְאַחֵר**), Šab. x. 3.

אֶל rare: **אֶל תַּחַת הַפּוֹתָר** into the space under the remainder (L omits **אל**), Kil. vi. 3, 4; **מִיּוֹם אֶל יוֹם** from day to day, Ned. viii. 1 (so L, probably a reminiscence of Num. xxx. 15).¹ With suff. in the plur., as in BH, only in a few exx.: **בָּא אֵלַי** Naz. 4 b; **חָזַר אֵלָיו** it returned to it, Pes. vii. 2 (some texts have **עָלָיו**); **וַיְדַבְּרוּ אֵלָיו** they shall speak to him, Mak. ii. 5. Frequently with prefix **מִ** and the suff. of the 3rd person in a reflexive sense: **מֵאֵלָיו** of itself, 'Or. i. 2; **בָּאוּ מֵאֲלֵיהֶן** they came by themselves, BM vii. 9; **לֹא מֵאֲלֵי אֲנִי אוֹמֵר** I do not say it from my own authority, Yo. 5 b.

אֶצֶל by the side of, at, to (after verbs of motion—BH **אל**): **מָנִית טַלִּיתוֹ אֶצֶל זֶה בָּאֵן זֶה אֶצֶל זֶה** they come one to the other, Šeq. v. 4; **אָעָלָו** he leaves his cloak with-him, Šab. xxiii. 1.

בֵּי in, as prefix and also with suff. (**בֵּי, בֵּיךְ, בֵּיהֶם**, as in Aram., Nid. 58 b, &c.), as in BH. Also in combination with nouns to give them a prepositional character, e.g. **בְּשִׁבְלִי, בְּצַד, בְּפָנָי, בְּלִבִּי**, **בְּשִׁעַת, בְּתוֹךְ, &c.**

בֵּין between; also with suffixes: **בֵּינִי, &c.** Correlatives ('between . . . and') are expressed by **לֵּ- . . . בֵּין**: **לֵּ- . . . בֵּין יוֹם טוֹב לְשַׁבָּת** : **בֵּין** between a festival and the Sabbath, Meg. i. 5 ff.; Yo. iii. 5, &c. Also: **וּלֵ- . . . בֵּין** Yo. iii. 8 (a standing expression, Hal. i. 9; from Joel ii. 17); **לֵּ-בֵין הָעָם** between him and the people, ib. 4, 6; **בֵּין עַצְמוֹ** Bik. i. 4; **בֵּין עַצְמָם** Hul. vi. 2, between him and himself, and themselves—privately; so **לֵּ-בֵינוּ**

¹ Other scriptural phrases with **אֶל** are: Yo. v. 6; So. vii. 2, 5; viii. 1; Mak. iii. 2 (L **עַל**); Zeb. xiv. 1; Pa. xi. 4, 5 (L **ל**).

privately, 'AZ ii. 2 ; בֵּינוּ לְבִינָה Yeb. xii. 5. Also as noun : עַל בֵּין on the space between the staves, Zeb. v. 1.

חוּץ, followed by לְ, outside : חוּץ לְתוֹחוֹם outside the boundary, 'Er. v. 7 ; also with ה local, but without any special significance : חוּץ לָהּ outside it, ib. 6 ; חוּץ לּוֹ Šebi. i. 2 ; especially in the expression חוּץ לָאָרֶץ outside the Land (of Israel), as opposed to בְּחוּץ לָאָרֶץ Ter. i. 5 ; Hal. ii. 1, 2, &c. So בְּחוּץ לָאָרֶץ Dam. ii. 1.

Followed by מִן except : חוּץ מִן הַפְּתִילָה except the wick, Šab. ii. 5 ; חוּץ מִזֶּה בְּלֻבָּד Yo. iii. 3.

כָּ, combines with some nouns to form prepositions : כָּנֹגֵד over against ; כָּנֹגֵד הַיְסוֹד in front of the foundation, Pes. v. 6 ; כָּנֹגֵד זֶה one facing the other, Šab. xi. 2 ; כָּנֹגֵד בָּלֵם the study of the Torah against (= compares, outweighs) them all, Pea i. 1 ; כָּנֹגֵדוֹ, כָּנֹגֵדוֹ against (corresponding to) it, them, Šebi. viii. 8.

כָּדִי sufficient for : כָּדִי מִיֵּינֵת הַכּוֹס sufficient for mixing a cup, Sab. viii, 1 ff.

כָּלְפִי (כָּ + לָאִפִּי, cf. לָאִפִּי 1 Sam. xxv. 23) towards : כָּלְפִי הָעָם facing the people ; כָּלְפִי הָעֵץ facing the gallows, San. vi. 4 ; כָּלְפִי צָפוֹן towards north, Tam. ii. 5.

לְ, to, as prefix and with suffixes (לִי, לָךְ fem. לְךָ Gil. iv. 8, &c.), as in BH. Also prefixed to prepositional nouns : לְאַחֵר, לְבֵין. לְמַטָּה מִן : לְמַטָּה מִירוּשָׁלַיִם below Jerusalem, Suk. iv. 5 ; לְמַעַלָּה מִן : לְמַעַלָּה מִזֶּה one above the other, 'Er. i. 9 ; viii. 8 ; לְעִמָּתָן towards them (rare), Šeq. vi. 3.

לְיָדִי to the hands of, to (after verb בָּא) : לְיָדִי עֲבָרָה ; thou wilt not come to transgression, Ab. ii. 1 ; לְיָדִי סִכָּנָה to danger, Yo. ii. 2.

לְעֵינָיו to the subject of, in respect to : לְעֵינָיו דִּבְרָיו in respect to his words, Ya. iv. 3.

לְפִי to the mouth of—according to : לְפִי הָאוֹרְחִין according to the guests, Šab. xx. 2 ; לְפִי רֹב הַמַּעֲשֵׂה according to the abundance of

the works, Ab. iii. 15; לְפִי הִיבָתָן because of the love entertained for them, Ya. iv. 6.

לִפְנֵי before; מִלִּפְנֵי from before; also with suffixes: לִפְנֵי, לִפְנֵיךְ, &c., as in BH.

לְשֵׁם to the name of—for the sake of, for the purpose of: לְשֵׁם שָׁמַיִם for the sake of Heaven, Ab. v. 16; לְשֵׁם עֲבוּדָה זָרָה for the purpose of idolatry, 'AZ. iii. 7.

מִן from, used separately or as prefix; also with suffixes: מִמֶּנִּי, מִמֶּךָ, &c., as in BH. Often the demonstrative particle הִי (= BH הֵיא) is prefixed instead of מִן when it has the pronominal suffix: הִימֶךָ from thee, Ned. 5 a; הִימֵנוּ from him, Šebi. x. 9; Git. viii. 9; הִימֶנָה from her, Pea iv. 3; vii. 8; Ket. 27 b. The texts often waver between these and the older forms: מִמֶּנּוּ, מִמֶּנָּה.

Also in the sense of 'in the power of': לֹא הִימֶךָ לֹאמַר it is not in thy power to say, Num. R. 4; especially with כָּל- לֹא הִימֶךָ לֹאמַר Gen. R. 15; L.; edd. with anticipation of the genitive (cf. § 389); . . . לֹא כָּל הִימֵנוּ מִן הָרִאשׁוֹן the first has no power to destroy the right of the second, Git. viii. 8; L.; לֹא כָּל הִימֵנוּ L.; edd., he has no power, BQ x. 3; cf. Aram.: לֹא כָּל בְּמִינָה? Sebu. 41 a; אֵיחָהוּ כָּל בְּמִינִיהָ? BB 154 b.

With לְ as correlative: מִבְּפִנֵּי הַחוּמָה וְלַחוּץ; מִבְּפִנֵּי הַחוּמָה וְלִפְנִים from the front of the wall and towards within, towards without, MŠ. iii. 7, 8.

Prefixed to prepositional nouns:

מִחַמַּת because of: מִחַמַּת הַמַּכָּה because of the wound, BQ viii. 1; מִחַמַּת חוֹלִי in consequence of the sickness, Git. vii. 3.

מֵעֵין שְׂמוּנָה עֲשָׂרָה of the colour, appearance, character of: an abstract of the eighteen benedictions, Ber. iv. 3 (cf. Ber. 29 a); מֵעֵין הַטּוֹבָה הַרְעָה evil of the nature of good; מֵעֵין הַרְעָה good of the nature of evil, ib. ix. 3; מֵעֵין מְלָאכָה אַחַת of the nature of, similar to one work, Šab. vii. 1.

מִשֵּׁם in the name of (also often מִשּׁוּם, cf. § 37): יִשְׁמַעְאֵל : מִשֵּׁם ר' יִשְׁמַעְאֵל in the name of Rabbi Ishmael, Kil. iii. 7; because of: אֲסוּרִין מִשּׁוּם נִזְהָג בּוֹ forbidden because of uncovering, Ter. viii. 4; מִשּׁוּם אֱלֹהִים he behaves to it as to a god, 'AZ iii. 4.¹ Cf. also on אֶל, above, and תַּחַת, below.

עַד to, as far as; עַד הַצּוֹת up to midnight, Ber. i. 1; as far as a space of two *seahs*, 'Er. ii. 3. עַד is not found with pronominal suffixes.

עַל upon; also with suffixes: עָלַי, עָלֶיךָ, as in BH; cf. also below, § 363.

In combination with nouns:

עַל גַּב upon the back of, upon: הַנּוֹתֵן עַל גַּבּוֹ who puts upon them, Šab. xi. 2; טָמֵא עַל גַּב עִם הָאָרֶץ unclean upon, because of, the 'Am ha-Areš, 'Ed. i. 14; עַל גַּב רִיקָה because of her spittle, Miq. viii. 5. More frequently with the constr. dual (§ 293): עַל גַּבֵּי הַמֶּטָּה upon the bed, Suk. ii. 8; עַל גַּבֵּי רַגְלָיו upon his feet, ib. iv. 9; Kil. ii. 11; עַל גַּבֵּיו upon it, BM x. 4.

עַל יָד by the hand of, through: עַל יָדִי through me, Ber. iv. 2; עַל יָדוֹ through him, on his behalf, Šebi. vii. 3. More frequently with the constr. dual: עַל יְדֵי יְחֻקָּאֵל by Ezekiel, Tam. iii. 7; עַל יְדֵי עוֹרָה together with its skin, MŠ. i. 6; iii. 11.

עַל מִנָּת on condition; עַל מִנָּת בֵּין on this condition, Dam. vi. 3; Ab. i. 3.

עַל פִּי through: עַל פִּי עֲדִים through witnesses, Šab. xix. 1.

עַל שֵׁם for the name, purpose, of—because of: עַל שֵׁם סוּפוֹ because of his end, San. viii. 5, 6.

עִם with; also with suffixes: עִמִּי, עִמָּךְ, &c. (BH עִמָּרִי is not found in MH).

¹ Literally: from the name, category of; cf. אֵינוֹ מִן הַשֵּׁם, it is not of this name—it does not belong to this category, K^r. iii. 4; so לֹא מִן הַשֵּׁם הוּא, Š^bu. 3 b; מִשֵּׁם אֶחָד, מִשְׁנֵי שְׁמוֹת, of one category, of two categories, Kin. i. 3, 4.

שֶׁ, &c.); לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר (כִּדְרֵי שֶׁ, &c.); עַקֵּב אֲשֶׁר (&c.; מִפְּנֵי שֶׁ, &c.); cf. on Adverbs, § 294).

Of Aram. origin is אֵלָּא (also אֵילָּא = אֵן + לֹא — אִם לֹא), and perhaps also the form בִּין שֶׁ, which is common in Aram.

The conjunction שְׁמָא (= שְׁלֵמָה, שְׁלֵמָה Cant. i. 7; Aram. רִילְמָא), was adopted by Aram. from MH. But Aram. influenced its spelling in MH with final א for ה: שְׁמָה.

MH shows some other interesting new formations, such as the use of the verbal form הוֹאִיל; ¹ the compounds אֶלְמָלָא or אֶלְמָלִי (אֶלּוּ + אִם + לֹא), or the Palestinian equivalent אֵילּוּלָא, אֵילּוּלִי (אֶלּוּ + לֹא); אֵילּוּלָא, אֵילּוּלִי (אֶלּוּ + אִם); לְפִיכָךְ; the adaption of a number of other expressions to conjunctive use: אַף עַל פִּי, וּבְלִבְךָ, בְּשִׁבְלִי, בְּזִמְן, אַף עַל פִּי, &c., all followed by שֶׁ. MH has also greatly extended and developed the uses of the BH conjunctions וְכִי, אֵלִי, אֲבָל, and שֶׁ.

303. We give here a list of the conjunctions and conjunctive expressions. For examples of their usage and their various constructions, the reader is referred to the respective sections in the Syntax.

Co-ordinating: וְ and; אַף also, moreover, indeed.

Adversative, restrictive, and exceptive: אֲבָל; אֵלָּא but, except; בְּאַמַּת of a truth, however.

Disjunctive: או or; בֵּין . . . בֵּין whether . . . or.

Conditional: אִם, אֶלּוּ, אֶלְמָלָא (אֶלְמָלִי), אֵילּוּלָא (אֵילּוּלִי) if.

Concessive: אַף, אֲפִילוּ even; (שֶׁ) אַף עַל פִּי although; אַף עַל פִּי כֵּן nevertheless.

Interrogative: הֲ, וְהֲלֹא, וְכִי, בְּלוּם; שְׁמָא perhaps?

Comparative: כְּ like; כִּדְרֵי so; כְּאֵילוּ as if.

Consecutive: לְפִיכָךְ therefore.

¹ The verb הוֹאִיל is not found otherwise in MH. It is always followed by וְ as in BH: Joshua vii. 7; 2 Sam. vii. 29. Cf. Bacher, *Aelteste Terminologie*, p. 37.

שֶׁ (שֶׁאִין, שֶׁלֹא). Its primary function, like BH אֲשֶׁר and כִּי, is to introduce a subordinate clause. Hence like אֲשֶׁר, כִּי, it assumes different meanings in accordance with the character of the clause it introduces, viz. a causal, concessive, conditional, or final meaning.

Like BH אֲשֶׁר, שֶׁ combines with prepositional and adverbial expressions to form the following new conjunctions.

Temporal: שֶׁ-בְּנֶשׁ as; שֶׁ-לְבֶנֶשׁ as; שֶׁ-מֵּאַחַר after, opposed to שֶׁ-עַד before; שֶׁ-אַחֵר שֶׁ-אַחֵר שֶׁ, after; שֶׁ-קֹדֶם before; שֶׁ-אִימָתִי שֶׁ, when, whenever; כָּל שָׁעָה שֶׁ-כָּל זְמַן שֶׁ, when; שֶׁ-בְּזֶמַן שֶׁ, as soon as; שֶׁ-כָּל הַיּוֹם שֶׁ, all the time that; שֶׁ-מִּשְׁעָה שֶׁ, from the time that; שֶׁ-עַד כְּדֵי שֶׁ, until.

Comparative: שֶׁ-כְּמוֹ שֶׁ; שֶׁ-בְּמוֹת שֶׁ; שֶׁ-בְּשֵׁם שֶׁ; שֶׁ-בְּדֶרֶךְ שֶׁ; שֶׁ-כְּעֵנֶן שֶׁ as.

Causal: שֶׁ-מִּשּׁוּם שֶׁ; שֶׁ-מֵּאַחַר שֶׁ; שֶׁ-לְפִי שֶׁ; שֶׁ-בְּשִׁבְלִי שֶׁ; שֶׁ-מִּתּוֹךְ שֶׁ; שֶׁ-עַל שֵׁם שֶׁ, because.

Final: שֶׁ-עַל מְנַאי שֶׁ; שֶׁ-כְּדֵי שֶׁ, in order that.

Restrictive: שֶׁ-וּבְלִבְדֹּךְ שֶׁ, only that.

4. Interjections.

304. (1) Pure Interjections.

לוֹ woe! Yeb. iii. 5 (edd.); xiii. 7 (L); Ber. 28 a, &c.

לוֹ woe! Yeb. xiii. 7; iii. 5 (L); 'Ed, iv. 8 (L has לוֹ in one word, as Qoh. iv. 10; cf. x. 16); אֵי שָׁמַיִם Oh, heavens! RH 19 a.

הוּי אִישׁ טוֹב וְנֶאֱמָן : הוּי alas! a good and faithful man, Ber. 16 b.

לוֹלִי woe! Ab. d'eRN. xxv. 3.

אָאָ pray, Yo. iii. 8 (only liturgical). So נָא in a poetical passage MQ 25 b, and in the liturgy.

הֵא הֵא behold, Mak. iii. 17; הֵא לָךְ (L הֵא לָךְ) behold, take thee, Ma'a. ii. 5, 6.

הִנֵּה behold, Ber. vii. 5; הִנֵּנִי behold I!

וְהִלּוֹא would that! Meg. 14 a; or וְלֹא Ber. 28 b (prob. Aram.).

The following BH pure interjections have been lost in MH: לוֹ, אָח, אָחִי, אָבִי.

305. (2) Words and phrases used as Exclamations.

הָאֱלֹהִים by God! H^{ul}. 54 a, &c. (late, and mostly in semi-Aram. passages).

בְּרִית by the Covenant! P^{es}. 38 b; t. H^{al}. 1.

נִפְתָּה שֶׁל רוֹמִי by the Capitol of Rome, M^{en}. 44 a (in the mouth of a heathen).

חֲבֵל alas! N^{ed}. 74 b; Sifre Deut. xviii. 12 (prob. Aram.).

חַס וְשָׁלוֹם May He have pity and grant peace!—God forbid
'Ed. v. 6; Ya. iii. 5.

הַמָּעוֹן הַזֶּה By this habitation (the Temple)! K^{er}. i. 7; vi. 3;
K^{et}. ii. 10.

הַעֲבוֹדָה by the worship! B^{er}. 34 b; Y^{eb}. 32 b.

הַשָּׁמַיִם by Heaven, Ab. d^eRN. xxxviii. 3.

The following BH exclamations have been lost in MH: הָבָה,
לָכָה, הִנֵּה.

PART III

SYNTAX

I. THE VERB

1. Tenses and Moods.

306. IN the use of the Tenses, MH has attained to a greater precision and exactness than BH. Generally in MH the perfect coincides with the present, the imperfect with the future, and the participle with the present. The perfect and the imperfect (and also the imperative) describe simple acts. Continuous, or repeated, or customary action is expressed by the participle alone for the present, by the participle with the perfect of הָיָה for the past, by the participle with the imperfect of הָיָה for the future, and by the participle with the imperative of הָיָה (= הֵיְהִי) for the imperative.

It follows that the use of the perfect for the present in such expressions as אָהַבְתִּי, יָדַעְתִּי, צָרַקְתִּי, וְנָתַתִּי (Ges.-K., § 106 g), or the use of the perfect for actions that lie in the future (*Perfect of Confidence*, &c.; ib., § 106 m-n), is not admissible in MH. Likewise, the use of the imperfect to describe actions, whether simple or continuous, which lie in the past or even in the present (ib., § 107 b-h), is not tolerated in MH.

(1) THE PERFECT.

307. The perfect describes a single act or event that has already taken place, or that is conceived as having taken place. Hence the perfect is the tense of the past, e.g.: יוֹסֵף הַכֹּהֵן הָבִיא בְּרִיבִירִים מִשָּׂה קָבֵל Joseph the Priest brought first ripe fruits, Hal. iv. 2 ;

תורה מסיני Moses received the Torah from Sinai, Ab. i. 1; לא קרינו את שמע we have not read the Šema, Ber. i. 1.

308. In the absence of the imperfect consecutive in MH, the perfect serves also to describe a series of consecutive acts in the past: *הֵשִׁיעוּהוּ וְנִפְטְרוּ וְהִלְכוּ לָהֶם* . . . (הוֹלִיכוּהוּ) *וְהֶעֱלִיאוּ* . . . they delivered him . . . they brought him up . . . they adjured him, and departed, and went away, Yo. i. 5; *הָבִיאוּ אֶת הָאֲבָנִים וּבְנוּ אֶת* *הַמִּזְבֵּחַ וְסִדּוּם בְּפִיד וְכָתְבוּ עֲלֵיהֶם* . . . וְנָטְלוּ אֶת הָאֲבָנִים וּבָאוּ וְלָנוּ בַּמִּקְוָם they brought the stones, and built the altar, and plastered them with plaster, and wrote on them . . . and took the stones, and came and lodged in their place, So. vii. 5.

309. The perf. also expresses an act which is anterior to another act in the past (pluperfect). Such a pluperfect is usually placed in a relative clause: *רָחַץ בַּלַּיְלָה הָרִאשׁוֹן שָׁמַתָּה אִשְׁתִּי* he bathed in the first night that his wife had died, Ber. ii. 6; *בְּתֵיחֵד עָמָה אַחֵר שָׁכַתְבוּ* he was alone with her after he had written it, 'Ed. iv. 7; *וּכְשִׁנְצָא אֲמַר* and when he had gone forth he said, 'AZ. iii. 4; *הָבִיאוּ כָּל טְהָרוֹת שְׁטִיחֵי רַבִּי אֶלְיעֶזֶר* they brought all the things which R. Eliezer had declared to be clean, Ber. 19 a; *וּבָאָה אִשָּׁה . . . שָׁמְלָה* and there came a woman who had circumcised, Šab. 134 a.

310. The perf. is used in hypothetical sentences, with or without a conjunction, to express a single act conceived as already performed. English in such cases would often use the present, e.g. *יֵצֵא . . . וְלֹא דִקְדַּק בְּאוֹתֵיהֶּ* . . . קָרָא if he has read (the Šema), but not pronounced its letters carefully . . . he has discharged his duty; . . . *קָרָא וְטָעָה יַחְזוּר* if he has read it, and made an error, let him return . . . , Ber. ii. 3; *וְנָתַן לְתוֹךְ יָדוֹ שָׁל . . . שָׁשֵׁט הָעֲנִי אֶת יָדוֹ* . . . *אִם הָבִיאוּהוּ לְיָדֵי מֵיתָה* . . . *לֹא יָבִיאוּהוּ* . . . if they bring him to death . . . should they not

bring him . . . , Ker. iii. 1 ; *אם באנו לכתוב אין אני מספיקין* if we came to write, we should not be capable, Šab. 13 b ; *ואם קבטה קבטה* if it is extinguished, let it be extinguished, ib. 120 a ; *אם נשלנו הוא* if ours be this Paschal lamb, then let thy hands be withdrawn from thine own, and thou art counted for ours, Pes. ix. 10.

311. In descriptions of continuous, or repeated, or customary actions in the past, for which the participle is regularly used, the perf. is sometimes found amidst a series of participles. In such cases the perfect usually has a temporal or hypothetical significance : *הקרובים מביאים . . . והשור הולך עמם . . . והחליל מכה לפניהם* עד שהן פוגעין קרוב לירושלים הגיעו קרוב לירושלים שלחו לפניהם ועיטרו . . . those near bring . . . , and the ox goes with them . . . , and the flute strikes in front of them, until they reach near Jerusalem. When they have reached near Jerusalem, they send (messengers) in front of them, and they crown their first ripe fruits, and the rulers go forth to meet them . . . , Bik. iii. 3 ; *היו מכניסין את השני ובורקין אותו נמצאו רבריהם . . . גמרו את הדבר היו מכניסין* they would bring in the second, and examine him. If their words were found to correspond, they discussed the matter . . . When they finished the matter, they would bring in . . . , San. iii. 6-7 ; v. 4-5 ; vi. 1. Sometimes the perf. is used in such cases without any apparent hypothetical or temporal significance : *פושטמים ומקפלים ומניחים . . . ומחבסים . . . יירע קרי לאחד מהם יוצא והולך לו . . . ירד וטבל עליה . . . יגסמו ונתחמו . . . בא וישב אצל אחיו . . .* they undress and fold them and put them . . . and cover themselves . . . when an impurity happens to one of them he goes forth and departs . . . and goes down and dips himself, comes up and dries himself and warms himself . . . he comes and sits by the side of his brethren, Tam. i. 1 ; cf. also Yo. i. 1-5 ; Suk. iv. 5, 9 ; Neg. xiv. 1-3 ; Pa. iii. 2-3, 7-8, f., &c.

312. Sometimes the act described by the perf. has just been performed, in which case English would use the present : עֲמַרְתָּ מָה שֶׁכְּתוּב בַּתּוֹרָה thou uprootest what is written in the Torah, Pes. vi. 1 ; מָה רְאִיתָ לְטַמֵּא what (reason) dost thou see to make it unclean? מָצִינוּ we find, 'Ed. vi. 3 ; קִיַּמְתָּ thou hast fulfilled, BQ iii. 9 ; נֵר שֶׁבָּבָה וְהוֹלֶכֶת אָדָם מֵנִיחַ אֶצְבָּעוֹ עָלֶיהָ מִיד בְּבָתָּה a lamp which is gradually going out, when a man lays his hand upon it, immediately it is extinguished, Šab. 151 b. So also of single acts that may be performed at any time : יֵצֵא סוֹד נִכְנֵם יֵין וְצֵא סוֹד when wine goes in, the secret goes out, 'Er. 65 a ; הִפֵּל יוֹרְעִין בְּלֵה לָמָה נִכְנָסָה the bride enters the bridal chamber, Ket. 8 b.

313. Finally, the perf. is found, though very rarely, also of a future act conceived as already performed : בָּשִׂים שֶׁקִּבַּלְתִּי שָׂכָר עַל הִדְרִישָׁה just as I shall receive reward for expounding, so shall I receive reward for withdrawing (from expounding), Qid. 57 a.¹ So sometimes in a conditional sentence, as a *futurum exactum*, for which usually the participle or imperfect is used (cf. §§ 321, 486) : אִם אֶחֱרָתִי שְׁחַטִּי עָלַי if I shall have delayed, slay on my behalf, Pes. ix. 10 ; וְהָיָה אִם מָתִי . . . אִם לֹא if I shall have died . . . if I shall not have come, Git. vii. 3, 7-9.

(2) THE IMPERFECT.

314. The imperf. describes a single act or event which has not yet taken place. It is, therefore, the tense of the future : אֲנִי אֶחְוִיר אֶת הַדִּנָּר (L.) I shall restore the *dinar*, Ket. xi. 4 ; נִכְתוּב גַּם let us write a bill of divorcement, Git. vii. 1, 2. So in dependent clauses pointing to the future : עַד שֶׁיֵּצֵא עַמּוּד הַשָּׁחַר until dawn

¹ So in BQ 41 b. In Pes. 22 b ; B^k. 6 b, the apodosis has a participle אֲנִי מְקַבֵּל.

rise, Ber. i. 1; אָלָא כְּרִי שְׂיִשְׁוֹרוּ; &c., except there be sufficient time that they be soaked, heated, &c., Šab. i. 5, 6; בִּקֵּשׁ עָלָיו רַחֲמִים וַיְחִיָּה seek for him (God's) mercy that he live, Ber. 32 a. Also in questions: מָה יַעֲשׂוּ what shall they do? Šab. 26 a; כַּמָּה יֵרְחִיקוּ how far shall they go? Tob. x. 2; וְלֹא אֶכְבֶּה shall I not weep? Ber. 28 b; וְלֹא אֶמְיָמְנוּ shall I not fulfil it? Yo. 19 b. So even of a past act: מָה אֶעֱשֶׂה וְרַבּוּ עָלַי what can (could) I do, when they were a majority against me? (L, edd.: (שִׁחְבְּרִי רַבּוּ עָלַי).

315. The futurity of an act is sometimes emphasized by periphrasis with עָתִיד שֶׁ, especially in the later Agadic style: עָתִידָהּ אִשָּׁה שֶׁתֵּלֵד a woman will bear; אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל שֶׁתּוֹצִיא the land of Israel will bring forth, Šab. 30 b; תּוֹרָה שֶׁתִּשְׁתַּכַּח the Torah will be forgotten, ib. 138 b.

316. The imperf. is used to describe a series of consecutive acts in the future, where BH would use the perf. consecutive: תִּחְיֶיבוּ חֹבֶת גְּלוֹת וְתִגְלוּ לְמָקוֹם הַפְּזִים הָרָעִים וַיִּשְׁתּוּ הַתַּלְמִידִים . . . וַיָּמוּתוּ you will incur the guilt of exile and you will be exiled to the place of the evil waters, and the disciples will drink and die, Ab. i. 9; אֵלֶּךְ לְבֵיתִי וְאוֹכַל . . . וְאַשְׁתֶּה . . . וְאַיִשָּׁן וְאַחֵר כֵּן אֶקְרָא . . . וְאַתְּפַלֵּל I shall go home and eat . . . and drink . . . and sleep and after that I shall read Šema' and pray, Ber. 4 b.

317. The imperf. is used of hypothetical acts, the performance of which lies in the future: לְכַשְׁתָּבוֹא אֶצְלִי אֲזוּנָהּ I shall feed her when she comes to me, Ket. xii. 1; אִם יִרְצֶה יִשְׂרָאֵל if the Israelite should wish, 'AZ. iv. 12; אִם תִּקְנִיטֵנִי if thou wilt provoke me, Šab. 17 a.

318. As a subjunctive: וְלֹא זָכִיתִי שֶׁתֹּאמַר I was not able to prove that it should be said, Ber. i. 5; לֹא יִדְחוּ; לֹא תִדְחֶה should it not, should they not push away (override)? Pes. vi. 2; מָה יַעֲשֶׂה הַבֵּן שֶׁלֹּא יִחַטָּא what can that son do that he might not sin? (he cannot hel committing sin), Ber. 32 a.

319. The imperf. is used to express a wish or a prayer (Optative or Precative): **מִי יִגְלֶה עָפָר מֵעֵינַי** Oh, who would uncover the dust from thine eyes, So. v. 2 ; **יִכְבְּשׁוּ רַחֲמֵי אֶת בְּעָסִי וַיְגֻלוּ רַחֲמֵי עַל בְּעָסִי** may my mercies suppress mine anger, and may my mercies roll themselves against mine anger, and may I conduct myself towards my children with the attribute of mercy, and may I enter for them . . . , Ber. 7 a ; cf. ib. 16 b ; 29 a ; 60 b, &c. (§ 467).

320. To express a command that some act should or should not be performed (Jussive): **תִּדְעוּ** know ye! Ber. 288 ; **בָּעֶרֶב כָּל אָדָם יֵאָדָם וְיִקְרָא וּבֶבֶקֶר יִעֲמֹד** in the evening all men should incline and read, but in the morning they should stand, Ber. i. 3 ; **אַל תִּרְצֶה אֶת חֲבֶרְךָ . . . וְאַל תִּנְחָמֵנו . . . וְאַל תִּשְׁאַל לוֹ** do not appease thy neighbour . . . and do not comfort him . . . , and do not ask of him . . . , Ab. iv. 18.

321. The imperf. expresses an act which must be performed prior to another act in the future (*Futurum Exactum*). Such an imperf. is put in a dependent clause introduced by **שֶׁ**: **כִּשְׁאֲגִיעַ לוֹ אֶלְקָמְנוּ** I shall gather it when I shall have reached it, Kil. v. 6 ; **אַל תִּדְּיוֹן אֶת חֲבֶרְךָ עַד שֶׁתִּגִּיעַ לְמִקְוֵמוֹ** do not judge thy neighbour till thou hast reached his place, Ab. ii. 4 ; **מֵאַחֲרֵי שֶׁיִּתְּלָשׁוּ** after they shall have been plucked, Bik. iii. 1 ; **לֹא יִכְסֶּנּוּ מִשְׁתַּחֲשֵׁךְ** he shall not cover it after it has become dark, Šab. iv. 2 ; cf. §

(3) THE PARTICIPLE.

322. The participle has retained in MH its twofold character of noun and verb. Its primary function is to describe the subject as being in a state of activity or passivity. By emphasizing the state of the subject, the partic. becomes equivalent to a noun-adjective. By emphasizing the activity or the passivity of the subject, the partic. becomes equivalent to a verb. But as even in

the latter case, the activity or passivity of the subject is expressed as a state, the partic. comes to describe an act as in the process of being performed. Hence the partic. becomes in MH the tense of the present. But is by no means confined to the present, even in its verbal character. It is also used, as in BH, of the past and the future to describe acts that are continuous, or repeated, or customary.

323. The partic. as present: **עַל שְׁלֹשָׁה דְּבָרִים הָעוֹלָם עוֹמֵד** the world stands on three things, Ab. i. 2; **בַּעַל הַבַּיִת דוֹחֵק** the master presses, ib. ii. 15; **הַחֲזָן רוֹצֶה הַיָּבֵן תִּינוּקוֹת קוֹרְאִים** the overseer may see where the children read, Šab. i. 3. With pronouns as subject: **אֲנִי יוֹדֵעַ** I know; **אֲנִי יוֹדֵעַ** I do not know, Ned. xi. 7; **הוּא רוֹצֶה** he is willing, BB vi. 6; **בְּנֵי אָדָם קוֹבְלִין אֲנִי** we complain, Ya. iv. 7; **בְּנֵי אָדָם דּוֹמִים לְעֵשְׂבֵי הַשָּׂדֶה הֶלְלוּ נוֹצְצִין וְהֶלְלוּ נוֹבְלִין** human beings are like the herbs of the field, some sprout forth, others fade away, 'Er. 54 a.

324. The partic. as past, in a frequentative or iterative sense; usually with the perf. of **היה** as auxiliary to emphasize the tense: **אֲנִי הָיִיתִי בָּא בַּדֶּרֶךְ וְהִטָּתִי** I was coming by the road, and I inclined, Ber. i. 3; **תוּ הָיִיתָ נוֹהֵג** thou hast conducted thyself, Suk. ii. 7; **וְהָיְתָה אֵת רֹאשָׁהּ וְהָיְתָה מְטַפַּחַת** they used to say, Šebi. iv. 1; **וַיִּמְנַחַת . . .** she uncovered her head, and kept on gathering it up with her hand and laying it, BQ viii. 6; especially in conditional sentences: **אִילוּ הָיִיתִי יוֹדֵעַ . . . לֹא הָיִיתִי נוֹדֵר** if I had known it, I would not have vowed, Ned. ix. 2 ff.; **אִילוּ לִפְנֵי מֶלֶךְ בִּשְׁעַר וָדָם הָיוּ** if they had led me into the presence of a human king . . ., I would, nevertheless, have wept, Ber. 28 b; 32 b (§§ 490, 494).

Often, however, the verb **היה** is omitted, when the context makes it clear that the reference is to the past: **מָצָאוּ שִׁיּוּשֵׁב** he found that he was sitting, 'Er. 11 b; **אִם הָיָה חָכָם דּוֹרֵשׁ וְאִם לֹא** if he was a scholar, he expounded, but

if not, scholars expounded before him, Yo. i. 6 ; Bik. iii. 1 ; Suk. iv. 4, and other descriptive passages cited above, § 311.

325. The partic. as future, with or without *היה* : *בְּשִׁיחֵי בְּעָלֵי* . . . *הָרִין עוֹמְדִין* . . . *לְפָנֶיךָ* . . . *וּבְשִׁנְפָּטְרִין* . . . Ab. i. 8 ; *אַתָּה מְחַסֵּר* . . . *אַתָּה מוֹסֵף* lest thou omit, lest thou add, 'Er. 13 a, for which the parallel passage in So. 20 a has the imperf. : *מִבְּכַח אֲנִי בָּהּ שֹׁמְרָה הוֹרָאָה בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל* ; *תְּיַיֵּר*, *תְּחַסֵּר* I am sure of this one that he will teach doctrine (promulgate decisions) in Israel, Naz. 29 b ; Git. 58 a ; *אֲנִי מֵת* I am going to die, Yeb. xvi. 6 ; *רָאָה שֶׁהוּא מִתְּחַיֵּב* he saw that he was going to be declared guilty, San. iii. 8. Also of single acts : *מָה שֶׁאַתָּה שׁוֹמֵעַת* what thou wilt hear, Ber. 18 b ; *אֵין אַתָּה מְלַמְּדֵנִי אֲנִי אוֹמֵר* if thou wilt not teach me, I shall tell my father Yohā, and he will deliver thee to the (Roman) authority, Pes. 112 a.

326. The partic. is used with the imperative *הוּהוּ* to command the performance of a frequentative or iterative act, as contrasted with the ordinary imperative which signifies the performance of a simple act : *הָיוּ מִתְאַבֵּק* sit in the dust ; *הָיוּ שׁוֹתֵה* drink, Ab. i. 4 ; *הָיוּ מְקַבֵּל* receive, ib. 15, viz. regularly and habitually, as opposed to *עָשִׂה* make ; *אָמַר* say, ib., which describe single acts.

327. The partic. is similarly used with the infinitive of *היה* in a frequentative and iterative sense : *הַנּוֹטֵל שְׂכָרוֹ לְהִיּוֹת רוֹאָה* he who takes wages to be examining, Bek. iv. 5 ; *הַחֲשִׁיד לְהִיּוֹת מוֹכֵר* he who is suspected to be selling, ib. ix ; *לְהִיּוֹת מַפְרִישׁ* to be separating (tithes), Git. iii. 7 ; *הוֹחֲקוּ לְהִיּוֹת גּוֹמְרִים* they established the rule to finish, Yeb. xii. 6 ; *הוֹחֲקוּ לְהִיּוֹת מְשִׂיאִין* to allow to marry, ib. xvi. 7. So with *עָתִיד* : *נָטַע וְעוֹשֶׂה פִּירוֹת* : *עָתִיד* it will be planted and bear fruit ; *עָתִידִים לְהִיּוֹת עוֹשִׂים* they will make, Sifra (Weiss), 110 d ; cf. below, § 349.

328. The auxiliary verb *היה* is sometimes omitted in the infin.,

as in the perf. and imperf. (§§ 324, 325), but only after certain expressions. Thus, after הִתְחִילוּ בָּל הָעָם שׁוֹרְפִין (= הֵחֵל) the people began to burn (לְהִיּוֹת שׁוֹרְפִין), Pes. i. 5; הִתְחִילוּ (לְהִיּוֹת מְחַצֵּ) individuals began to fast (לְהִיּוֹת מְחַצֵּ) Ta'a. i. 4; הִתְחִיל מְרַדֵּר they began to bring up, Tam. ii. 2, 3; הִתְחִיל מְרַדֵּר he began to spread out, ib. vi. 3.

After בִּשְׂעָה שֶׁדָּרָךְ בְּגִי אָדָם שׁוֹכְבִים . . . דָּרָךְ בְּגִי אָדָם עוֹמְדִים : דָּרָךְ at the hour when it is the custom of men to lie down . . . to rise up, Ber. i. 3 (לְהִיּוֹת שׁוֹ); BB vi. 6; דָּרָךְ בָּל הַמּוֹמְתִין מִתּוֹדִין it is the custom of all those about to be put to death to make a confession, San. vii. 2 (לְהִיּוֹת מִתּוֹדִין); הַבַּיִת אֲבָא נּוֹתֵנִין הָיָה (לְהִיּוֹת מִתּוֹדִין) the house of father were accustomed to give, Pea ii. 4; Šab. i. 9 (L); לֹא נִמְנְעוּ עוֹשִׁין they did not shrink from preparing, Yeb. i. 4; 'Ed. iv. 8 (var.: לֹא נִחְשְׁדוּ חֲבֵרִים תּוֹרְמִין (לְהִיּוֹת עוֹשִׁין) associates are not suspected of giving tithes . . . , t. Ma'a. ii. 5 (but var. לְתַרּוֹם; so Hul. 7 a).

329. The partic. also expresses an act which is customary, without any reference to a particular time: הַכֹּהֲנִים נִכְנְסִין לֶאֱכֹל the priests enter to eat, Ber. i. 1; . . . יוֹרֵד אָדָם לְתוֹךְ שָׂדֵהוּ וְרוֹאֶה . . . a man goes down to his field and sees . . . , Bik. iii. 1; בִּשְׁחוֹתֵכֶן . . . אֵין חוֹתְכִין אֶלָּא עַל גַּב הַיָּד . . . וְכִשְׁיוֹעֲצִין אֵין יוֹעֲצִין אֶלָּא בְּשָׂדֶה when they cut . . . , they do not cut but upon the table; when they kiss, they do not kiss but upon the hand; when they hold counsel they do not hold counsel but upon the field, Ber. 8 b. The subject is often omitted, and then the partic. has the force of an impersonal verb, which may usually be rendered in English by a passive: הַקּוֹרָא אֶת שְׁמֵעַ Ber. ii. 3. This is especially common in the plur.: כִּיצַר מִפְּרִישֵׁין אֶת הַבִּיּוֹרִים how are the first-ripe fruits separated? Bik. iii. 1; עֲכָשׂוּ שְׂמולִיכִים מִיָּד יוֹעֲצִים בְּאַחִיוֹתוֹפֶל וּנְמָלְכִים now that I am led, Ber. 28 b; בְּסִנְהֶדְרִין וְשׂוֹאֲלִים בְּאִרְיִים וְתוֹמִים Ahitophel, and consult the Sanhedrin, and inquire of the oracle,

ib. 3 b ; מְבִיאִין לוֹ עֲרִיבָה מְלֵאָה מַיִם a tub full of water was brought to him, Sab. 25 b. Cf. below, § 439.

330. Such participles often assume a somewhat jussive sense : מֵאִימָתַי קורִין אֶת שְׁמַע from when may the Šema' be read? Ber. i. 1 ; פֶּל אָדָם קורֵא פֶדְרָבוּ one may read in one's own way, as opposed to the preceding, יָטוּ וַיִּקְרְאוּ one must read in a bent position, ib. 3 ; שׁוֹאֵל מִשְׁאֶלֶת אִשָּׁה . . . one may ask, answer, ib. ii. 1 ; וּבֹרֶרֶת וְטוֹחֶנֶת וּמְרַקֶּדֶת a woman may lend . . . and pick and grind and sift . . . , Šebi. v. 9. The transition from this usage to a real jussive or imperative is easy : הִתְחַמֵּץ אֶת בֹּדְקִין leaven must be searched, Pes. i. 1 ; הִתְקִינוּ שִׁיהוֹ אוֹמְרִין it was ordained that they should say ; שִׁיְהֵא אָדָם שׁוֹאֵל that one must ask, Ber. ix. 5. Particularly with a negative : אֵין עוֹמְדִין לְהִתְפַּלֵּל one must not stand up to pray, ib. v. 1 ; בָּמָה מְדַלִּיקִין וּבָמָה אֵין מְדַלִּיקִין wherewith may one light, and wherewith may not one light? Šab. ii. 1 ; הִתְקִין רַבֵּן הַתַּנְיָא רַבִּין גַּמְלִיאֵל שֶׁלֹּא יְהוּ עוֹשִׂין בֵּן Rabban Gamaliel ordained that one must not do so, Git. iv. 2.

331. The partic. retains its verbal character even when it is apparently used as a noun : הַקּוֹרֵא אֶת שְׁמַע וְלֹא הִשְׁמִיעַ לְאָזָיו if one reads the Šema', but has not made it audible to his ears, Ber. ii. 3. Here the partic. takes the article like a noun, yet it also takes a direct object and is co-ordinated with a finite verb. Other examples are הַמְּתַפַּלֵּל וְטָעָה one who prays and makes a mistake, ib. v. 5 ; Šebi. x. 2 ; Ter. iii. 1, and often ; cf. also § 374.

332. As already stated in the treatment of the Verb (§§ 113, 127), in the passive forms the static significance of the partic. is predominant. The passive partic. of the Qal, and the participles Pu'al and Hoph'al are practically equivalent to adjectives. Thus, הַגָּזוּל (לֹלֵב) that has been obtained by robbery, is parallel to הַיָּבֵשׁ a dry one, Suk. iv. 1 ; מְחוּבָּר plucked from the ground ; joined to the ground, are parallel to חָדָשׁ new ; יָשֵׁן old, MŠ. v. 11 ; מְלוּבָּן whitened, washed, parallel to צוּאִי dirty, Hul. xi. 2. So רְכוּב

BM i. 3; **מְעוֹמֵר**, **מְיוֹשֵׁב** Meg. 21 a, in a riding, standing, sitting posture, contrasted with the active forms **רוֹכֵב**, **עוֹמֵר**, **יוֹשֵׁב**.

333. These participles, viz. the passive of Qal, and the participles of Pu'al and Hoph'al, describe a more or less permanent state as the result of a verbal action. They thus differ from the participles of the corresponding reflexive-passive stems, which describe the verbal action as in the process of being performed. Thus **פָּטוּר** free, Šab. ii. 5; **הַנִּפְטָר** who frees himself—departs, MQ 29 a; **שָׁחוּף** consumptive; **נִשְׁחָף** wasting away, Sifra 111 c; **מְבוּעָר** cleared away; **מִתְבַּעְרִים** being cleared away, MŠ. v. 6; **מְעוֹשְׂרִין** tithed (adjective); **מִתְעֲשְׂרִין** are tithed, Dam. iv. 1; ii. 1; **מְחויֵב** having an obligation, RH iv. 8; **מִתְחַיֵּב** incurring guilt, Ab. iii. 9; **מְעִינָה** and **מִתְעַנָּה** t. Ta'a. ii. 7.

334. The passive partic. sometimes has the significance of the Latin gerundive (cf. Ges.-K., § 116 e): **שׁוֹר הַנִּסְקָל** an ox that is to be stoned, Qid. ii. 9; **שְׁעִיר הַמִּשְׁתַּלַּח** the goat that is to be sent away, Yo. vi. 1; **זֵיתִים הַנִּכְבָּתְשִׁין** olives that are to be crushed; **פְּרִים הַנִּדְרָכוֹת** grapes that are to be trodden, Ter. i. 8; **הַנִּשְׂרָפִים** bulls that are to be burnt, Yo. vi. 7; **כָּל הַמּוֹמְתִין** all that are to be put to death, San. vi. 2.¹

335. The active partic. Qal is sometimes found in a middle sense which is equivalent to an English passive: **חֲמוֹר טוֹעֵנֶת** a loading—loaded ass, BM v. 4; **פוֹרֶקֶת** unloading—unloaded, ib. vii. 4; **קוֹטְעִין** cut (ears of corn), Ma'a. i. 6; **שׁוֹפְכִין** pouring out—to be poured out, i.e. ill-smelling liquid, Šab. viii. 1.

336. The passive partic. Qal, being almost equivalent to an adjective, is found in an active sense in a few intransitive and transitive verbs. So already in BH, Ges.-K., § 50 f; also in Aram., and especially in Syriac, Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 280; *Mand. Gr.*, § 380.

¹ The other examples cited by Albrecht, § 107 m, do not belong to this category.

The following is a fairly exhaustive list of such cases in MH.

(i) Intrans.: אֲבִירָה lost, BM 22 b; מְתִין cautious, Ab. i. 1; יָרִיד lowly, j. BM iv. 1; נְטִיפָה dripping, Pea vii. 1; כָּבוֹד thinking, Qid. iii. 5 (an Aramaism—סָבִיר); עֲסֻקִים occupied, Pa. iv. 4 (L); רְבֻצִים lying down, B^ek. ix. 7; רִכּוֹב riding, BM i. 3 (edd.; so BM 9 a, &c.); שָׁקוֹד watchful, Ab. ii. 14; שְׂרִיָּה dwelling, ib. iii. 2.

(ii) Transitive: אֲחִיזָה הַדָּם holding in the blood, H^ul. 58 b; אֲרוּסָה betrothed male, masc. of אֲרוּסָה Ket. 13 b; זָכוֹר remembering, Ket. ii. 10; חֲשִׁיבִי בְּגָדִים lacking garments, Kel. i. 2; טָבֹל יוֹם one who bathed by day, T^Y ii. 1; כָּפְיוֹי טוֹבָה repressing thanks, ungrateful, 'AZ 5 a; נָדָר having vowed, t. Dam. ii. 23; נִשְׁתִּי married to two wives,¹ Ket. x. 1, 2; נִשְׁלָא רְחוּץ יָדַיִם וְרַגְלָיִם not having washed the hands and feet,² Kel. i. 9; Pa. iv. 1; תְּפִיזָהם holding the acts of their fathers, Sifra 112 b.³

The following are only apparently active: חֲלִיצָה a woman that has received *ḥaliṣa*,⁴ Y^eb. ii. 3; טְעִינָה burdened with—requiring, So. ii. 1; סָמוּךְ leaning on—near, Yo. i. 8 (cf. BH נִשְׁעָן); נִשְׁחָל suspended—falling, B^ek. vi. 7; שְׁלֹחִין stripped—olives dropping their kernels, 'AZ ii. 7; שָׁקוֹל balanced—even, So. ix. 2; תְּלִיזָה hanging—hanging, ib.⁵

¹ As opposed to פָּנָיִי unmarried, t. Qid. i. 1. Cf. the active and passive forms side by side: הַנִּשְׂתִּינִי אֶת הָאֲחִיזָה נִשְׂתִּינִי, those who are married to the sisters may marry . . ., t. 'Ed. ii. 9, the first expressing a state or condition, the second expressing an act.

² A standing phrase, derived from Exod. xxx. 21. Cf. t. Yo. i. 18; San. xiv. 6.

³ Contrast אֲחִיזָה מַעֲשֵׂי אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם, B^er. 7 a; San. 27 b.

⁴ In Deut. xxv. 7–10 the woman is conceived as active (חֲלִיצָה, ver. 9), and the man as passive (חֲלִיץ, ver. 10); so also in MH: לֹא תִחְלֹץ, Y^eb. iv. 10; חֲלִיצָה, ib. xii. 3. More often, however, the condition is reversed: the man is active, חֲחֻלִּץ, Y^eb. iv. 1, 7; חֲחֻלִּץ, 5, 6; חֲחֻלִּץ, v. 2 ff., and the woman is passive, חֲחֻלָּה.

⁵ The forms שָׁכִיב מֵרַע written, Ab. vi. 10; שָׁכִיב מֵרַע lying with disease, Pea iii. 7, &c., are pure Aramaisms.

337. In spite of the strong development of the verbal character of the participle in MH, the idiom has also retained in full the substantival usages of the partic. found in BH. Thus, the partic. is widely used as a noun, especially when determined by the article, e.g. הָעוֹמֵד what is standing; הַפְּרוֹץ what is broken, Kil. iv. 4; הַנוֹלָד what is born = the result of a action, Ab. ii. 9, &c. As an attribute, the partic. with the article often has the force of a relative clause, as in BH; cf. שׁוֹר הַנֶּסְקֵל and the other exx. in § 376.

338. The partic. often stands in the construct state: נְקִיבַת הַיּוֹשֵׁט having a hole in the gullet; פְּסִיקַת הַנְּרִנֶּת cut in the wind-pipe, H̄ul. iii. 1; שְׁחִין מִיבַת struck with leprosy, Ket. iii. 5; חוֹתְמֵי בְּרָכוֹת those who conclude the benedictions, Ber. ix. 5; cf. § 380.

339. In accordance with its substantival character, the partic. is regularly negated by אֵין אֵין מְדַלֵּקִין : אֵין Šab. ii. 1; cf. exx. above, §§ 329-30. Frequently, however, it is negated by לֹא, but as a rule only when it is intended to impart a certain emphasis to the negation. This happens either when the negative follows immediately upon an affirmative, or when two or more negatives follow each other. In the first case, וְלֹא has the force of 'but not', in the second case לֹא . . . לֹא means 'neither . . . nor'. The participial clause negated by לֹא contains, as a rule, no other words but the participle.

Exx. (i) יֵשׁ מְבִיאִין בְּפִרְיֵם וְקוֹרִין מְבִיאִין וְלֹא קוֹרִין there are some who bring first-fruits and recite, some who bring but do not recite, Bik. i. 1, 3, 4; וְלֹא מְשַׁלְּמִין נִשְׁבָּעִין they take an oath, but do not pay, Šebu. vii. 1; cf. further, Šab. xi. 2; Yeb. iii. 1 f.; vi. 1; vii. 4; x. 8, 9; xi. 4, 6; So. 1, 2; San. vii. 5; H̄ul. i. 7.

(ii) הוֹלִין לֹא אוֹכְלִין וְלֹא שׂוֹרְפִין they are in suspense: neither may they eat (the leavened bread), nor need they burn it, Pes. i. 5; Be. ii. 8; v. 2; Yeb. vii. 5; viii. 4, 5; וְלֹא מְבַבְּמִים לֹא חוֹלְצִים; and the other exx. in § 376.

neither do they give *ḥaliṣa*, nor do they marry (the deceased brother's childless wife), xi. 2. Contrast with 5, 7, where in similar cases the negative is **אֵין**, because the clauses are longer, and there is no particular emphasis on the negative; So. iv. 1 f.; Mak. iii. 13; 'Ed. v. 2; Hul. viii. 1; Tem. iv. 1; M'il. iii. 1 ff. (contrast with 3); Neg. x. 4; Nid. vi. 1.

(iii) The two cases side by side: **כֹּהֵן גָּדוֹל מְקַרֵּיב אוֹנָן וְלֹא אוֹכֵל** the High Priest may offer sacrifices on the day of the death of a near kinsman, but may not eat of a sacrifice, while an ordinary priest may neither offer a sacrifice, nor eat of one, Hor. iii. 5; BB viii. 1; 'Ar. vii. 1; Oho. viii. 1; Miq. vii. 1; 'Uq. v. 5.

In longer clauses the partic. is negated by **אֵין**, even in such cases as described above: . . . מוֹעֲלִים בָּהֶם וְאֵין חֲבִיבִים עֲלֵיהֶם מָשֵׁם one does not incur *m^eila* by using them, nor is one guilty in their case of . . . M'il. i. 3; 'Ar. ii. 6; Ket. v. 5.

340. There are, however, exceptions to the above rules, when the partic. is negated by **לֹא**, where we would expect **אֵין**, especially in later texts; cf. Ket. vii. 6; 'Ar. ii. 3; vii. 1, &c. But we also find in BH numerous examples of such an irregular construction,¹ e.g. Deut. xxviii. 61; Hab. i. 14; Job xii. 3; xxix. 12. Further, 2 Sam. iii. 34; Ezek. iv. 14, where the partic. is parallel to a finite verb.

341. The subject of a participial predicate is often placed after the partic., as in BH,² but as a rule only when a certain emphasis is intended on the predicate: **בַּמָּה בְּהֶמְהָ יוֹצֵאָה וּבַמָּה אֵינָה יוֹצֵאָה** **יּוֹצֵא הַנֶּמֶל** wherewith may an animal go out, and wherewith may it

¹ All the examples in BH are collected and classified by E. Sellin, *Ueber die verbal-nominale Doppelnatur d. hebr. Participien u. Infinitive*, p. 27, and by J. Kahan in his dissertation with the same title, p. 19. Cf. also Ges.-K., § 152 d.

² Cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 135 (4). So also in Phoenician: **פָּעַל קָרָא אַנֶּךְ** **אַנֶּךְ**, Cooke, op. cit., No. 3, ll. 2, 3, and the note p. 21 f.

not go out? The camel may go out, Šab. v. 1. Contrast with 2 : **חָמֹר יוֹצֵא, וְכָרִים יוֹצְאִין, &c.**; **מִתְיַחַד אָדָם** a man may be alone, opposed to the preceding **לֹא יִתְיַחַד** Qid. iv. 12; **אוֹכֵל פּוֹעֵל** a workman may eat, opposed to the following **לֹא יֹאכַל פּוֹעֵל** BM vii. 5, 6. So also with pronoun as subject : **לֹא יִתֵּן לְחֹמוֹ צִיּוֹן אֶבֶל נוֹתֵן הוּא לְחֹמוֹ** one may not put into it cold water, but one may put into it . . . , Šab. iii. 5; **מָה אֲנִי לִירֵד . . . מוֹתְרִים אֲתָם** what are we in respect to going down? . . . you are permitted, 'Er. iv. 2.

Often, however, the emphasis is hardly noticeable : **יֹדַע אֲנִי** I know, Ber. v. 5 (so Qoh. viii. 12); **רוֹאָה אֲנִי** I prefer, Ab. ii. 9 (so Gen. xxxi. 5); **זָכוֹר אֲנִי** I remember, Ket. ii. 10 (**זְכוֹרִי** in Aram. fashion, Šab. 115 a, and often);¹ **קִיבַּע אֶתָּה** you rob, Yad. iv. 3; **קוֹבְלִין אֲנִי** we complain, ib. 6.

342. Similarly the auxiliary verb **הָיָה** sometimes follows the partic. : . . . **נִוְהָגִין הָיוּ** my father's house were accustomed, Pea ii. 4, modifying the preceding statement; **צוֹפֶה הָיִיתִי** I was watching, Suk. iii. 9; **אֶבֶל אֲנוּסִים הָייִנוּ** but we were forced, Ket. ii. 3 : . . . **פּוֹטְרוֹ הָיָה רַבִּי יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אָף . . .** R. Joshua acquitted him even . . . , Ker. iv. 2. So also in BH for the sake of emphasis : Exod. xxvii. 1; xxviii. 16; Deut. ix. 7, 22, 24; Joshua v. 5, &c. So in Aram. : Dan. ii. 31, 34; Ezra iv. 12, 22, &c., and often in the Targumim and other Aram. dialects.

343. Note. The construction of the partic. with **הָיָה** in MH is of native origin, and is not borrowed from Aram. It is frequent in BH even where the partic. has a purely verbal force,² e.g. in the

¹ This contraction of **אֲנִי** with the partic., under Aram. influence, is common in the Midrashim and in late MH generally, but not in the Mishna. Where such forms occur in some texts of the Mishna they are due to the copyists, cf. e.g. N^{ed.} i. 1; RH ii. 9; Šab. xxii. 3; Y^{eb.} xvi. 7; Ya. iv. 2 in edd. with L and N. The contraction of **אֲנִי** with the partic. is never found even in late MH, though common in Aram.; cf. Dalman, § 65; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 64; *Mand. Gr.*, § 175 a.

² Cf. Driver, *Tenses*, § 135 (5), and, with fuller lists, Sellin, op. cit., p. 35, and Kahan, p. 25.

past: Judges i. 7; 2 Sam. iii. 7; viii. 15; Jer. xxvi. 18, 20; 2 Kings xvii. 32, 33; of the future: Gen. i. 6; Deut. xxviii. 29; Isa. xxx. 20; with pass. partic.: Jer. xviii. 23; Ezek. xliv. 2; xlv. 1; Zach. xiii. 1; especially in the later books: Neh. i. 4; ii. 13, 15; iii. 2; v. 18; vi. 14, 19; xiii. 5, 22; 2 Chron. xxx. 10; Dan. viii. 5, 7; x. 2; Esther ii. 7, 15, and with לְהִיּוֹת (a genuine MH construction): i. 22; viii. 13; ix. 21.

On the other hand, it is worthy of note that, with perhaps one doubtful exception (cf. § 184 foot-note), the tenses are never found in MH combined with הִיּה, as sometimes in the Targumim (e.g. דְּהוּה חֲמִירָה, Gen. iv. 1 (Jer.); הוּא נִפִּיק Cant. i. 12), and very frequently in Syriac (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, §§ 263, 268), and in Arabic (Wright, *Arab. Gr.*³, ii. § 3 (c)): also in Phoenician (בִּן נֶדֶר, Cooke, *NSI.*, No. 57, l. 5), evidently because there is nothing approaching such a construction in BH.

(4) THE INFINITIVE.

344. Of the various constructions with the inf. in BH, MH has preserved only the gerundial use with ל to express the direction and purpose of a verb. In its use as a noun, the inf. has been supplanted in MH by the corresponding verbal nouns which are so numerous in MH (§ 217). For the BH inf. with the prepositions בְּ, פֶּ, MH uses בְּשֵׁי with the finite verb, as often in BH (בְּאַשֶׁר), and regularly in Aram. (בְּרִי Dan. vi. 10; בְּרִי¹). Finally, the use of the inf. in its absolute form to emphasize a finite verb is never found in MH,² though this construction is very common in Aram.³

¹ The infin. with ב is frequent in the Targumim, e.g. Gen. xii. 4; xxiv. 6; xlviii. 7, &c., which proves that the construction was permissible in Aram.

² An exception is the liturgical passage: שִׁמְחַת הַשְּׂמִיחַ רַעִים הָאֲהוּבִים (cf. Jer. xx. 15); שׁוֹשׁ תְּשִׁישׁ וְתִגַּל הָעֶקְרָה (cf. Isa. lxi. 10), K^{et}. 8a; Singer, *op. cit.*, p. 299.

³ Cf. Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 295. In the Targumim the inf. absol. with

The loss of these infinitival constructions in MH is due to natural decay. They are already very scarce in the later books of the Bible. Thus, the combination of the inf. absolute with the finite verb is not found in Qoheleth, Canticles, Ezra, and Daniel, and is rare in Esther, Nehemiah, and Chronicles. So also the inf. with ב, and ב is rare in those books, and where found, it is not always used in a correct way.¹

345. The use of the inf. with ל coincides generally with the BH inf. construct with ל. The pronominal suffixes attached to this inf. are, however, always of an objective force: לְזַרְעָהּ to sow it, Kil. ii. 3; לְנוֹמְעָהּ to plant it, ib. 4; לְפָדוֹתוֹ to redeem it, Mš. iv. 6; לְאָכְלָן to eat them, Dam. iii. 3; לְהַחְיֹתְכֶם to revive you; לְהַקְיִמְכֶם to raise you, Ber. 38 b.

346. After verbs of preventing, restraining, &c., either expressed or understood, the inf. takes the prepos. מִ before לִּי אֲסוּרִין לִּי אֲסוּרִין they are forbidden to be sown and to be kept, Kil. viii. 1; נִמְנְעוּ מִלְּהָבִיא they refrained from bringing, Hal. i. 7; פֶּס. i. 6; שַׁבַּת הִיא מְלֻעָק it is Sabbath, so that one must not cry, Šab. 15 a; נִשְׁתָּהוּ הָעֵדִים מִלָּבוֹא the witnesses delayed to come, RH iv. 4; cf. Ges.-K., § 119 x.

347. The inf. is sometimes used as a verbal noun with the ל in the sense of 'with regard to': מָה אֲנִי לָבוֹא בַּמִּקְדָּשׁ what am I with regard to entering the assembly (of Israel, cf. Deut. xxiii. 4)?—may I enter, &c., Ya. iv. 12; מָה אֲנִי לֵירֵד what are we with regard to going down—may we go down? 'Er. iv. 2; לְהוֹפִיר מָה (= מָה + הוּא) should one mention? Šab. 24 a.

348. The inf. sometimes expresses necessity, obligation, as in BH (Ges.-K., 114 i-l): הִנֵּה הוּא לְהִסָּגֵר behold, this is to be shut up, Neg. iv. 10; הִנֵּה הוּא לְהִחָלֵט behold this is to be finally decided

finite verb is used almost always where the Hebrew text has it. Cf. also Winer, *Chald. Gr.* (1882), § 46, 4, 5.

¹ Cf. Driver, *Introd. to the Lit. of the OT.*⁶, pp. 506, No. 12; 538, No. 37.

(as impure), ib. 11. The person upon whom the obligation rests is introduced by עַל with the appropriate suffix: הָרִי עָלַי לְשַׁלַּח פָּרַע: behold I must let (my hair) grow wild, Naz. i. 1; עָלֶיךָ . . . עָלָיו; רָאִיָּה לְלַמֵּד thou, he must teach (produce) the evidence, Ya. iv. 3.

349. When preceded by the adjective עָתִיד ready, the inf. expresses with certainty and emphasis the occurrence of an act or event in the future (*Periphrastic Future*): אִם עָתִיד לְחֹזֵר: if he is resolved, or going, to return, Meg. ii. 3; גָּמַר מִלְמַסּוֹק אֲבָל עָתִיד: he has finished gathering (the olives), but he is going to buy (more); he has finished buying, but he is going to borrow (more), Ṭoh. ix. 2; Dam. vii. 1; Ned. iii. 1; Šeq. vi. 3; Mid. ii. 6, 13 (הֵם עֲתִידִים לְהִיּוֹת); Naz. v. 4; So. v. 2; BM iv. 2; San. x. 2; Ab. iii. 1; 'Uq. ii. 12 (a later addition).

These are all the passages in the Mishna where this construction occurs. But it becomes very common in the later Aggadic literature. Sometimes, however, עָתִיד is construed with the imperfect (cf. above, § 315). So also in the Targumim עָתִיד is found in both these constructions (e.g. Gen. iii. 15 in Jerus.; Isa. xl. 2). In Syriac ܥܬܝܕ is always followed by ܐ with the imperfect. In BH the construction is found only once, and in the primary sense of עָתִיד: (לְעוֹרֵר) לְוִיָּתָן: Job iii. 8; cf. also Esther iii. 14; and עֲתִידוֹת the destined future, Deut. xxxii. 35.

350. The inf. expresses the certainty of a future action also when preceded by סוֹף: סוֹף לְהִשָּׁמַע: it will eventually be understood, Ab. ii. 4; סוֹף לְבַטְלָה: סוֹף לְקַיְימָה: he will eventually fulfil it, neglect it, ib. iv. 9; סוֹף לֵיתֵן: he will eventually give, Mak. i. 1; סוֹפֵינוּ לְבַדּוֹק: we shall certainly examine, San. iv. 5. Sometimes, however, the partic. is used, instead of the inf.: סוֹף יוֹרֵשׁ: in the end he will inherit, Ab. i. 5; סוֹפָה בְּטִלָּה: in the end it will cease, ib. ii. 2.

2. Government of the Verb.

(1) *Subordination of the Noun to the Verb as Accusative.*

351. The method in MH of marking the direct object of a transitive verb is exactly the same as in BH. As a rule, a determinate object is indicated by **את**, an indeterminate object is left without any mark, e.g. **אין הופרין פוכין . . . אבֿל מִחֲנֻכִּין את הפוכין** one may not dig (new) sepulchres . . . but one may adapt the (old) sepulchres, MQ i. 6; **קורין את שִׁמֵּע** read the 'Šema', Ber. i. 1, &c. Sometimes, but not more frequently than in BH (Ges.-K., § 117 n), a determinate object is indicated by **ל**, instead of **את**: **בִּפְרָנָא : למִשְׁתִּי לְעִוְנוֹת** forgive, I pray, the iniquities, Yo. iii. 8; **הַמִּשְׁקָא לְאִשְׁתּוֹ** one who suspects his wife (cf. Num. v. 14), So. i. 1. Often, however, a determinate object is found without the *nota accusativi*, whether **ח** or **ל**, especially when the object is determined by a possessive suffix: **הַכֶּנִּים קָרְוֹתָיו**, **פִּירוֹתָיו**, **שׁוֹרֵי** he brought in his pots, his fruit, his ox, BQ v. 2, 3; **וְתִשְׁלַח סוֹפְנוֹ . . . וְתִשְׁלַח חֶלְקֵנוּ** mayest thou increase our border . . . prosper our end . . . put our portion, Ber. 16 b. This omission may in many cases be due to scribal negligence, as is shown by the frequent disagreement of the texts: **נָטְלוּ כְּסוּתּוֹ** they took his garment, BQ x. 2, L, but edd. **את כֶּסֶף**; **הַמִּכְרִי כֶּלָּיו** if one recognizes his articles, edd., but L **את כָּל** ib. 3, and often.

352. A nominative after a transitive verb is found in the expression **יָבִיא הוּא וְלֶחֶמָה** let him bring it and its bread, Men. vii. 8; **יָבִיא הוּא וְנִסְכָּיו** let him bring it and its drink-offerings, ib. xiii. 7. The phrase may be an invariable technical expression, like **וְאֵת בָּנָי**, § 275.

353. The accusative is found also after a passive verb: **נִשְׁכַּר : את השָׁלֶף** gain the corners, 'Er. v. 1; **לְהַפְרַע את שָׁלֶף** to be paid thine own, Ket. xiii. 18; **נִזְרַק את דָּמּוֹ** its blood was sprinkled, Pes. vii. 7 (L, edd. without **את**); cf. Ges.-K., § 121 a, b.

354. The double accusative is somewhat rarer in MH than in BH : **לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה אָדָם אֶת סִלְעָיו דִּינָרִי זָהָב** : one shall not make (change) his silver *selafim* into gold *dinars*, MŠ. ii. 7 ; **לֹא יִמְלֵא אָדָם קַעֲרָה שֶׁמֶן** : one shall not fill a dish with oil, Šab. ii. 4 ; **מוֹצִיא אֶת הָרַבִּים יְרֵי חוֹבָתָן** : causing the public to discharge their duty, RH iv. 9 ; **אוֹפִין אֶת בָּרֶזֶל בָּתָּן** : baking their bread into thick loaves, Be. ii. 6 ; 'Ed. iii. 11.

More frequently the remoter object takes a preposition : **הִלְבִּישׁוּ הָאִיִּשׁ בְּאֵינְקֵלִי וְחָגְרוּ בְּצִילְצוֹל** he clothed him with a (woman's) tunic, and girded him with a (woman's) girdle, Men. 109 b. In the passive the verb is followed by the accusative of the remoter object : **לְבִישׁ לְבָנִים וְעִטּוֹף לְבָנִים** clothed in white garments and wrapped in white garments, Yo. 39 b ; Men. ib. ; **טָעוֹן פְּשָׁתִּים** laden with flax, BM. vi. 8 ; . . . **טְעִינָה הַפִּשֵּׁט** requiring flaying, &c., Zeb. v. 4.

355. The accusative, but without the *nota accusativi*,¹ is also used to define the action of the verb in reference to time, especially to express duration of time : **נִאָּסְרָה עָלָיו שָׁעָה אַחַת** she was prohibited to him for one hour, Yeb. iii. 7 ; **אֹר לְאַרְבַּעָה עָשָׂר בּוֹדְקִין** on the eve of the fourteenth one must search, Pes. i. 1 ; **אוֹכְלִין כָּל אַרְבַּע וְתוֹלִים כָּל חֵמֶשׁ וְשׁוֹרְפִין בְּתַחֲלַת שֵׁשׁ** (hours), and suspend all the fifth (hour), and burn at the beginning of the sixth (hour), ib. 4 ; **לֹא יֹאכַל אָדָם . . . עֶרְבֵי פֶסַחִים** on the eve of Passover one must not eat, ib. x. 1 ; **נִדְרָה לַיְלִי שַׁבָּת** she vowed on the night of the Sabbath, Šab. 157 a (but Ned. x. 8 : **נִ' בַּלַּיְלִי שַׁבָּת**). More often, the noun is introduced by a preposition, especially when it is intended to express a point of time, and not duration : **כָּל יוֹם אָדָם מְתַפַּלֵּל** every day a man prays, Ber. iv. 3 ; **זֶה הַיּוֹם הַחֹדֶשׁ הַחֹדֶשׁ הַחֹדֶשׁ** early in the morning the director would

¹ This accusative of time is found also with **אֶת** in the liturgical passage : **אֶת יוֹם רֵאשׁ הַחֹדֶשׁ הַחֹדֶשׁ** fortify us on this day of the New Moon, 'Er. iii. 9.

(2) *Subordination of the Noun to the Verb by means of Prepositions.*

358. As in BH, nouns can be governed by a verb also indirectly, by means of a preposition. Such nouns serve to define the verbal action in its various relations to time, place, manner, &c., but they may also represent the object of the verbal action in the same way as an accusative. The prepositions chiefly used for this purpose are: **אֶצֶל**, **בְּ**, **לְ**, **מִ**, and **עַל**. These prepositions have preserved in MH the general characteristics of the meaning and usage which they have in BH. In the following sections some special constructions will be noted. (Cf. Ges.-K., § 119.)

359. **אֶצֶל**. This prepos. usually takes in MH the place of **אֶל** is BH (cf. § 301): **מִי שֶׁשְּׁלַחַךְ אֶצְלִי** he who sent me to thee, Dam. iv. 6; **גּוֹלְלוּ אֶצְלוֹ** he rolls it up towards himself, 'Er. x. 2; **בְּכַנְסוֹ אֶצְלוֹ חֲכָמֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל** the sages of Israel came in unto him, Ber. 3 b. Also in the old BH sense: **מִתְאַרֵּחַ אֶצֶל עִם הָאָרֶץ** stays as a guest with an 'am ha-areṣ, Dam. ii. 2.

360. **בְּ**. (i) To introduce the object of a transitive verb:¹ **שְׁנַיִם אוֹחֲזִין בְּטָלִית** two hold a cloak, BM i. 1; **הִתְחַזַּק בָּהּ** he took hold of it; **זָכָה בָּהּ** he acquires it, ib. 2; **הַחֹבֵל בְּחֵבְרוֹ** if one injures his neighbour, BQ viii. 1; **צָרַם בְּאָזְנוֹ** he cut (or pulled) his ear; **תָּלַשׁ בְּשַׁעְרוֹ** he plucked his hair, ib. 8; **הִתְרִיחֶם בּוֹ** have you warned him? San. v. 1; **לָבַשׁ בְּחָלֹק** he put on a shirt, Me'il. v. 1. With a partitive sense: **לַעֲשׂוֹת בְּצֶמֶר** to work at wool, Ket. v. 6; **אוֹכֵל בְּקִדְּשִׁים** eats of holy things, Naz. viii. 6; **שׁוֹתֶה בֵּינּוּ** drinks of wine, ib. iv. 3; **מְרַבֶּה בְּבְרִיקוֹת** increases examinations, San. v. 2.

(ii) To describe the character of the subject or object in

¹ This use of a preposition to introduce a direct object is exactly parallel to the use of **אֶת** for the same purpose. In both cases, the preposition or the particle **אֶת** is dependent on the verb as its accusative, and the noun is dependent on the preposition, or **אֶת**, as its genitive.

relation to the verb, ב נָדְרָה כְּנֹזִיר *essentiae*: she vowed as a Nazirite, Ned. iv. 3; בָּלֵא מִתְּבוֹן . . . בְּנֵנָם he entered without intention, 'Er. iv. 4; מִקְרִיב חֶלֶק בְּרֹאשׁ offers a portion as a chief; נוֹטֵל חֶלֶק בְּרֹאשׁ takes a portion as a chief—offers, takes the first portion, Yo. i. 2.

(iii) Expressing the instrument or means of an action: מַעְגִּיל *מעגיל* rolling with a roller; עוֹלָה בְּסוּלָם; יוֹרֵד בְּסוּלָם going up, going down a ladder, Mak. ii. 1; בְּמֶה מְדַלֵּקִין wherewith may one kindle a light? Šab. ii. 1; or the price: בְּמִיטֵב הָאָרֶץ . . . לְשֵׁלִים to pay with the best of his land, BQ i. 1; זֶה בְּכֶמֶה חֶפֶץ וְהָ for how much is this article, BM iv. 10; מוֹצִיִּין אוֹתוֹ בְּנַפְשָׁם one may deliver them at the cost of their lives, San. viii. 7; or the measure: הַטֶּבֶל אוֹסֵר . . . בְּנוֹתוֹ טַעַם *Tebel* renders a food prohibited when it is sufficient to add a flavour, Hal. iii. 10; אוֹסֵר בְּכֹל שֶׁהוּא prohibits by any quantity, 'AZ v. 8; נִקְוָה בְּכוֹנֵם מִשְׁקָה bored with a hole large enough to take in liquid, Oh. v. 2; Kel. x. 8; cf. ib. iii. 1, 2. For BH cf. *BDB*, p. 90 b, iii. 8.

(iv). To define and limit the verb, in the sense of 'in respect to', 'in the case of': מוֹתֵר בְּעָלָיו וּבְשָׁלוֹם permitted as regards roast or seethed food: אָסוּר בְּמַעֲשֵׂה קִדְרָה prohibited as regards food prepared in a pot, Ned. vi. 1; מוֹתֵרִין בְּאֻכְלָהּ permitted to eat, Kil. viii. 1; לָמָּה לֹא אָסְרוּהָ בְּהִנָּאָה why did they not prohibit it as regards (indirect) profit? 'AZ ii. 5.

(v) Finally, in a local sense after a verb of motion: שׁוֹלְחִין בְּכָל הַמְּקוֹמוֹת they send to all places, San. xi. 4; הָיִיתִי בָּא בַדֶּרֶךְ I was coming by the way, Ber. i. 3; הִמְחִלָּה בַדֶּרֶךְ if one walks by the way, Ab. iii. 4; הֵילֵךְ בָּהֶן he walked on them, Hül. ix. 2; נִתְּמוּ בְּאִנְפּוּלִי¹ thou hast put it into a bag, Šebu. vii. 6.

361. ל. (i) To introduce a direct object, like אֵת; cf. above, § 351.

¹ Or אִמְפּוּלִי *mappula*; cf. Kohut. i. 124 a.

(ii) To introduce an indirect object, the ל of the dative : נָתַנוּ לוֹ they gave him, 'Er. vi. 3.

(iii) The *dativus ethicus* : לוֹ בָּא he came, Yo. iii. 8 ; נָפַל לוֹ עָלֶיהָ he fell on it, Pe. iv. 2 ; הוֹלֵךְ לוֹ אֶצֶל יוֹחָנָן he goes to Johanan, Šq. v. 4.

(iv) To introduce the genitive : belonging to, cf. below, § 384.

(v) To introduce the agent after a passive or reflexive verb : מִי שֶׁנֶּשְׂאָל . . . לְכָל אָדָם they are eaten by all men, Zeb. v. 6 ; הַמִּשְׁתַּתֵּף לוֹ if one consults a sage, MQ iii. 2 ; לוֹ הַמִּשְׁתַּתֵּף he who joins him in partnership, Bek. ii. 1 (cf. Ges.-K., § 121 f). So also after an active verb : לְאוֹר הַנֵּר . . . בּוֹדֵקִין one searches by the light of a candle, Pes. i. 1 ; שֶׁאֵינִי טוֹעֵם לָךְ, שֶׁאֵינִי אוֹכֵל לָךְ that I will not eat, taste, of thine, Ned. i. 1.

(vi) 'In respect to' : מְבָרַךְ לְעַצְמוֹ pronounces a benediction for himself, Ber. vi. 6 ; מוֹעֵד לְמִינוֹ forewarned in respect to his own kind, BQ iv. 2 ; פָּתוּחַ לְרוּחָהּ open wide, Ab. i. 5 ; הַמְשַׁפֵּיר בֵּית לְשָׁנָה לְחֹדָשִׁים . . . if one lets a house for a year, for months, BM viii. 8.

(vii) In a local sense, after verbs of motion : 'into'—BH אֶל : לְדִיר הַכּוֹנֵם צֹאן if one gathers sheep into a shed, BQ vi. 1 ; יוֹרְדִין לְשָׁם they go down there, Suk. iv. 5 ; cf. § 295 ; הוֹלֵכְתָּם לְתוֹךְ בֵּיתְךָ thou hast carried them to thine house, Šebu. vii. 6 ; in a figurative sense : אֵין מַעֲלִין לְכַהוּנָה one does not raise to the priesthood, Ket. ii. 8.

(viii) Of time : לְיָמִים הַרְבֵּה after many days, 'Ed. i. 1 ; לְמִשְׁפָּחִים לְשַׁחֲרִית מִצָּאוֹ ר"ג at the beginning, Šab. 65 a ; in the morning R. Gamaliel found him, Pes. 72 b ; cf. §§ 296, 297, 301.

362. (i) Of place : עָבַר מִבִּנְיָד פָּנָיו he passed from before him, Naz. ix. 1 ; מִחֲצִי וְלִחוּץ ; מִחֲצִי וּלְפָנִים from the half of it and towards outside, inside, BM ii. 3 ; מִן הָאֶרְבּוּבָה וְלִמַּטָּה from the knee down, Yeb. xii. 1 ; cf. § 301.

(ii) Of time : מוכן מבעור יום prepared from day-time, Be. i. 2 ; מכאן ועד ג' שנים from now till three years, BM v. 3.

(iii) Partitive : שָׁמַע מִן הַתִּינוּקוֹת אוֹמְרוֹת ; שָׁמַע מִן הַנָּשִׁים אוֹמְרוֹת he heard some of the women, some of the children, say, Yeb. xvi. 5 ; גָּנַב מִשָּׁל אָבִיו of the notables of Jerusalem, Yo. vi. 6 ; רָאִיתָ מִיָּמֶיךָ hast thou seen on any of thy days—ever? Qid. iv. 14 ; so מִיָּמֶיךָ Suk. v. 1 ; מִיָּמֶיךָ (L) ; לְסַפֵּק Pes. v. 7 ; i. 6 (cf. Ges.-K., § 119 w, foot-note 1) ; מְשַׁלֵּשׁ to supply flours at four (*seahs* per *sela'*) they stood at three (*seahs* per *sela'*), Šeq. iv. 9 ; so Kel. xvii. 11 ; Pa. i. 1, &c.

(iv) In a privative sense : 'away from'—not to, after verbs of preventing, restraining, &c. ; לֹא הָיוּ מוֹנְעִין מִמֶּנּוּ they did not withhold from him, Yo. i. 4 ; cf. § 346.

(v) Introducing the source, cause, instrument of an action : לֹא מִפִּיהָ אֲנוּ חַיִּין we do not live from her mouth—depend on her words, Ket. i. 6 ; גִּיאוּתִין מִמֶּנּוּ make use of it, Šab. iii. 6 ; . . . שׂוֹרְפִין גָּפֶל לְפָנָיו they burn with their own wood, Pes. vii. 8 ; מְקוֹל הַקְּרִיָּה he fell forward because of the noise of the digging, BQ v. 8. So with אֵל in a reflexive sense : מְנַנֵּן מֵאֵלָיו plays by itself, Ber. 3 b ; cf. above, § 301, and below, § 432.

363. על. (i) To introduce the object : הִשְׁבִּיעַ עָלָיו he adjured him (parallel to מִשְׁבִּיעֶדָּה), Šebu. v. 2 ; iv. 3 ; מְצִיל עַל הַכֹּל protects everything, 'Ed. i. 14 ; כָּבַשׁ עָלָיו לְתוֹךְ הַמַּיִם he pressed him into the water, San. ix. 1 ; מְעִשֶׂה הַקְּטָרֶת to teach the work of making the incense, Yo. iii. 11.¹

(ii) After verbs of going, standing, &c. : מְהִלְכִין עַל כָּל הָאָחִין they go over all the brothers, Yeb. iv. 5 ; הִלְכָה לָהּ עַל לְבָו it went

¹ Further examples of this unusual construction are : לְהַעֲבִיר עַל הַבֶּתֶם to remove a stain, Šab. ix. 5 (L and j. ; edd. 'את הכ' ; אין מְשַׁנֵּין עַל הַמִּנְהָג one should not change the custom, j. BM vi. 4. So, perhaps, in BH : חוֹלֵשׁ Isa. xiv. 12 ; cf. Exod. xvii. 13.

to his heart, San. ix. 2 ; יְחַדְּרוּ עַל הַפֶּתָחַיִם (יִשְׁאַלּוּ L), let them go about (beg) at the doors, Ket. xiii. 3 ; עוֹמֵד עַל דְּבָרָיו stand on his words, refuse to change one's opinion, 'Ed. i. 4 ;¹ יָדוּ עַל הָעֲלִיוֹנָה (L לְעַל) to have an advantage, Šoq. iv. 9 ; עַל הַתַּחְתּוֹנָה (L לְתַחַת) to have a disadvantage, BM vi. 2 ; ג' עַל ג' עַל רוֹם ג' three (cubits) by three by three high, Šebi. iii. 5 ; אָחֵד יוֹשֵׁב עַל פֶּתַח one sits at the door . . . , San. xi. 2 .

(iii) In the sense of 'in addition to': נוֹשְׂאִין עַל הָאִנוּסָה וְעַל הַמְּפִיטָה one may marry in addition to the woman that has been forced or seduced, Yeb. xi. 1 ; מוֹסִיף עָלָיו it adds unto it, Ket. iii. 5 ; יִתְרוֹת עַל הָרִאשׁוֹנוֹת exceed the first, Ta'a. i. 6 ; and so often to express the comparative degree of adjectives, § 391. So עַל יָד : יִקָּבֵר עַל יָד עוֹרוֹ let it be buried together with its skin, MŠ. i. 6 ; iii. 11 ; מִמַּעַטָּת עַל יָד . . . reduces by the side of . . . , Nid. i. 1 ; cf. *BDB*, p. 755, 4.

(iv) 'In respect to', 'concerning': אָמְרוּ לָהּ עַל בָּתָּהּ they told her about her daughter, Naz. vi. 11 ; הִשְׁמָעַע עַל מֵתוֹ if one hears concerning his dead, Pes. 92 b ; נִמְלָךְ עָלֶיהֶן he changed his mind concerning them, BM. i. 7 ; שָׁחַט עָלֶיהָ he slew on her behalf, Pes. viii. 1 ; cf. *BDB*, p. 754 b (g).

(v) To express the agent or cause: יִשָּׁלַח יְמִיחָהּ עַל הַמַּיִם that it might not be blotted out by the water, So. i. 4 ; הַבָּנוֹת נִיּוֹנוֹת עַל הַבָּנִים the daughters are maintained by the sons, BB. viii. 8 ; לֹא יִשְׁחָט עָלָיו he shall not slay (it) through it, Bek. v. 2 ff. ; נִפְּשׁוּ עָלֶיהָ his life is taken because of it, Mak. iii. 15 ; so : קִרְאָהּ הַמִּתְחִילָה נִכְסֶיו עַל פִּיו he read it by mouth—by heart, Meg. ii. 2 ; if one divides his property by word of mouth, BB ix. 7 .

(3) *Co-ordination of a Verb to another Verb as Auxiliary*

364. Certain verbs are used in an auxiliary character to give an adverbial definition to another verb with which they are

¹ Contrast עוֹמֵד בְּדִבְרוֹ keeping his word, BM 47 b.

co-ordinated. Some of these, as in BH (Ges.-K., § 120 d), stand before the principal verb which they serve to define. Others stand after the principal verb.

(i) Before the principal verb.

דחק to press : דָּחַק וְנָכַנס he entered by force, Ber. 31 b ; נָזַח וְנָכַסְתִּי and I entered by pressing, San. 70 b.

חזר to return : חָזַר וּמָחַלָּם he changes them again, MŠ ii. 6 ; חָזַר וְהוֹסִיף he added again ; יִחְזֹר וְיִתְרוֹם let him tithe again, Ter. iv. 3. But also with inf. : חָזְרוּ לֵאמֹר they said again, Git. vi. 5, &c.

מָהֵר to hasten : מָהֵר וְהוֹצִיאוּ bring forth quickly ; מָהֵר וַעֲשֵׂו do quickly, 'Er. vi. 1.

הִשְׁבִּים to rise early : מִשְׁבִּימִים וּבָאוּ they come early in the morning, Suk. iii. 13 ; מִשְׁבִּים וְטוֹבֵל he immerses himself early, Tam. i. 2 ; הִשְׁבִּים וּמָצָא he found early, Hul. ii. 6 ; הִשְׁבִּים וָצֵא go forth early in the morning, go forth late in the evening, Ber. 62 a.

שָׁנָה to repeat : שֹׁנִין וְאוֹמְרִין they say a second time (L שֹׁנִין לֹמֵר), Suk. v. 4 ; שָׁנָה וְלִימַד he taught a second time, San. xi. 2.

שָׁקַד to be diligent ; כָּל אֻמּוֹת שׁוֹקְדוֹת וּבָאוֹת all nations come diligently, Ber. 58 a.

365. (ii) After the principal verb.

בָּא to come : לֹא יֵהָא זֹרַע וּבָא he shall not sow on, Kil. ii. 5 ; אָנִי מְרַקֵּד וּבָא I come on dancing, Ber. 51 a ; הָיָה מוֹדֵד וּבָא he was measuring on, 'Er. 42 b ; נִיּוֹנוֹת וּבָאוֹת נִיּוֹנִין וּבָאוּ they are continued to be maintained, t. BB viii. 18, 19.

הֵלַךְ to go : מוֹסִיף וְהוֹלֵךְ he goes on adding to it, Šebi. iii. 3 ; מְתַנַּנָּה וְהוֹלֵכֶת she goes on decaying more and more, So. iii. 5 ; מְסַפֵּר וְהוֹלֵךְ he goes on relating, Ber. 13 a ; הָיְתָה דוֹלֶקֶת וְהוֹלֵכֶת it was burning continually for the whole day, Šab. 23 a ; מְתַמַּעֲטִין וְהוֹלְכִין they may go on becoming fewer and fewer, Pes. 99 a ; אוֹכֵל וְהוֹלֵךְ he may go on eating, ib. 99 b ; 105 a.

יָרַד to go down : הִתְחִיל מְחַטֵּא וְיוֹרֵד he began to purify down-

wards, Yo. v. 5; מַתְּלִיל וְיֹרֵד it rolls downwards, ib. vi. 6; הָיָה חוֹתֵךְ וְיֹרֵד he would cut downwards, Tam. iv. 3.

עלה to go up: הָיוּ הַמַּיִם צָפוּן וְעוֹלֵין לְקִרְאָתוֹ the waters were floating upwards towards him, Ab. deRN. xx; הָיָה מִתְמַר וְעוֹלָה (the smoke) was going straight upwards (palm-like), ib. xxxv. 7; טוֹמְאָה בּוֹקֵעַת וְעוֹלָה בּוֹקֵעַת וְיֹרֶדֶת the impurity breaks through upwards, downwards, Oh. vi. 6; מִטַּפֵּס וְעוֹלָה מִטַּפֵּס climbing upwards, downwards, 'Er. 21a; מִשְׁפִּיעַ וְעוֹלָה מִשְׁפִּיעַ sloping upwards, downwards, ib. 43b.

יצא to go forth: הָיָה מוֹשִׁיכוֹ וְיֹצֵא he was pulling it out, BQ vii. 6; מִבִּצְבִּץ וְיֹצֵא bursting outwards, Pes. 13a; מִפְּכָכִין וְיֹצֵאִין trickling forth, t. Šeq. iii. 2; נָרְרוּם וְהוֹצִיאוּם they dragged them forth, ib. 1.

ישב to sit: הָיָה הִלֵּל כָּפוּף וְיֹשֵׁב Hillel was sitting bowed, Šab. 17a. עמד to stand: מוֹשָׁבַע וְעוֹמֵד מִהֵרָ סיני he is under oath from Sinai, Ned. 8a.

II. THE NOUN

1. Determination of the Gender.¹

366. In the determination of the gender, MH follows the principles of BH. Thus, in the case of animate beings the gender agrees with the sex, whether the two sexes are distinguished by independent words, as אָם, אָב; שִׁפְחָה, עֶבֶד; בִּלָּה, חֶתָן; or the fem. is formed from the masc. as תְּמוּרָה, נְדִיָּה (cf. § 277); טָלָה (L; edd. טְלִיָּה) M^{en}. xiii. 6; or one word serves for the two sexes, as נִמְלָה, יוֹנָה, אֶרְנַבֶּת, צִפּוֹר, נָמַל, בָּקָר.

MH shows some new fem. formations from the masc., especially in late texts. Thus, beside טָלָה, תְּמוּרָה we find וְאִבָּה Est. R. i. 9; חֲזִירָה ib. iii. 1; חֲתוּלָה cat, j. Pea 17d; בִּלְבָה dog, j. San. 26b;

¹ Cf. Ges.-K., § 122, and H. Rosenberg, *Das Geschlecht d. Hauptwörter in d. Mischna* (Berlin, 1908), especially pp. 73 ff.

² חֲמוֹר is also found as fem.: הִלְכָה חֲמוֹרֶךְ thy ass is gone, B^ok. iv. 4. אֶתָּן is not used in MH.

369. The following fem. nouns which form the plur. in ם— are construed in the plur. as masc.: דלעת pumpkin, Kil. iii. 7; Sebi. i. 7; פֶּרְשִׁינָה leek, פֶּרְשִׁינִין MŠ ii. 4; קישות cucumber, קישוֹאִים Ter. iii. 1; Ber. 57 b; שֶׁשֶׁשֶׁת scale (of fish), שֶׁשֶׁשִׁין Hul. iii. 7; cf. § 289.

370. Certain nouns ending in ת— are fem., even when the ת is treated as a radical letter: אות sign, letter of the alphabet, MQ iii. 4; Kil. ix. 10; אָמַת So. ix. 15; גַּת Ma'a. i. 7; נֶפֶת Kel. x. 5; עַת Tam. i. 2; דָּת law, Ket. vii. 6; חֲבִיתִים wafers, Men. xi. 3; פֶּת Ber. vi. 7; צֶבֶת tongs, Ab. v. 6; שֶׁבֶת Dam. iv. 2; cf. also Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 86.

371. A number of nouns are found both in the masc. and in the fem. form but with a difference in meaning: גַּן garden; גִּנָּה (or גִּינָה) vegetable garden, Kil. ii. 2; דִּיר shed for animals, BQ vi. 1; דִּירָה dwelling for human beings, Ber. 77 b; חוֹב debt, BM i. 7; חוֹבָה duty, Pes. x. 4; חוֹל sand, Šab. viii. 5; חוֹלָה sand-dune, 'Ar. iii. 2; Sab. 31 a; חֶרֶב sword, So. viii. 5; חֶרֶבָה knife, Šebi. viii. 6; צֶל shadow, Pes. 114 a; צֶלָה shade, protection from the sun, Suk. i. 1; קוֹר cold, BM 106 b; קוֹרָה cooling, satisfaction, Ab. iv. 17.

372. Gender of Greek and Latin nouns.

(i) Nouns ending in ם- (-os, -us) are construed as masc.: פָּנִם φανός, Kel. ii. 4; פּוֹלֶמוֹס πόλεμος, So. ix. 14; פִּנְגָּם πίναξ, Ab. iii. 16; סוֹלֵאִים soleas, Kel. xxvi. 4.

(ii) Nouns ending in הַ, אַ, יַ (-a, -ia, -eia, -η, -a) are fem.: טַבֵּלָה tabula, Yo. iii. 10; קַצֵּרָה castra, 'Ar. ix. 6; קְלוֹסְטֵרָא κλειστρα (pl.), Kel. xi. 14; דִּיֵּיטִי δίαιτα, Šab. xi. 2.

(iii) Nouns ending in וֹן, וֹת (-on), are masc.: סִיקָרִיקוֹן σικαρικόν, Git. v. 6; קֶלְבּוֹן κόλλυβος Šeq. i. 6, but קִיטוֹן κοιτών is construed as fem., Mid. i. 6.¹

(iv) Nouns ending in יַן are fem.: אֶפּוֹדִיִּין ὑποπόδιον, Kel.

¹ This is not due to the plur. ending (קִיטוֹנוֹת פְּתוּחוֹת); cf. קִיטוֹן אַחַת, Exod. R. 33.

xxiv. 7 ; סִנְהֶדְרִין συνέδριον, San. i. 6 ; סִינְדָּרִין συνδάριον, ib. vii. 2 (Ĺ) ; but בִּיבָרִין (*vivarium*) is masc., Šab. xiii. 2 ; cf. further, Krauss, *Lehnwörter*, i, §§ 287-305.

2. The Use of the Article.

373. As in BH, so in MH nouns are either determinate by their nature, such as proper nouns and pronouns, or are rendered determinate by their grammatical connexion, viz. when followed by a determinate noun as genitive, or by a pronominal suffix, or when preceded by the article.

Only in the latter case does MH exhibit certain peculiarities which demand special treatment.

The MH article is identical with the BH article, both in form and in the general characteristics of its usage.

374. (i) The article is used whenever the noun is definite.

Thus with nouns which are definite by themselves: הַחֶמֶשׁ the sun ; הָעוֹלָם the world ; הַשָּׁחַר the dawn ; הַשַּׁבָּת the Sabbath. With nouns that have been mentioned before : הַבּוֹכִין, בּוֹכִין, cf. above, § 351.

With nouns that are known or necessary in connexion with the subject treated : נוֹשְׂאֵי הַמָּטָה the bearers of the bier, in connexion with a dead body, Ber. iii. 1 ; הַיּוֹם ; הַיּוֹן, &c., in connexion with *Qidduś*, Ber. viii. 1 ff. So also with nouns that are definite in the mind of the speaker : הַצּוֹאָה dirt, Ber. iii. 5 ; הַחֲמֹר ib. iv. 5 ; הַפִּירוֹת ib. vi. 1, &c. This last usage is even more common in MH than in BH.¹

(ii) The article is used with titles : הַמְּמוֹנֶה the overseer, Yo. ii. 1 ; הַסֶּפֶן the deputy High Priest, ib. vii. 1 ; אֲגְרִיפּוֹס הַמֶּלֶךְ King Agrippa, Bik. iii. 4 (but always בֶּהֱן נָדוּל the High Priest, even when definite, Yo. i. 1 ; cf. § 378).

¹ Cf. Ges.-K., § 126 q-t ; Driver, *Notes on Samuel*, i. 4 ; xix. 13.

(iii) With the vocative : הַמֶּלֶךְ ; הַעֲבֹדָה ; הַמַּעֲוֹן הַזֶּה O King ! Sifre Deut. iii. 23 ; cf. § 305.

(iv) With names of material : הַצֹּמֶר wool, Šab. i. 6 ; הָעֵץ wood, ib. ii. 3 ; הַכֶּסֶּף, הַזָּהָב silver, gold, BM iv. 1.

(v) With collectives : הַלֹּחַף וְהַשִּׁיחַ lof and garlic, &c., Ter. ix. 6 ; Kil. i. 1 f.

(vi) With abstracts : הַיָּפְיּוּת וְהַעֲזָזָה וְהַכֹּחַ beauty, strength, riches, glory, &c., Ab. vi. 8 ; BM iv. 3.

(vii) The article is used with participles in a somewhat demonstrative sense : he who . . . , she who . . . , &c., especially in conditional sentences : הַקּוֹרֵא אֶת שְׁמַע he who reads the Šema', Ber. ii. 3 ; הַמְתַּפִּיל וְטָעָה he who prays and commits an error, ib. v. 5 ; הַמּוֹצֵא תְּפִלִּין he who finds tephillin, 'Er. x. 1 ; cf. § 331.

So sometimes in BH : הַנוֹגֵעַ Gen. xxvi. 11 ; הַמִּקְרִיב Lev. vii. 33 ; xiv. 46-7 ; xv. 6-10 ; xvi. 28. Contrast : . . . מִבֵּה Exod. xxi. 12 ; Prov. xv. 32 ; Qoh. x. 8, &c.

(viii) The article is prefixed to adjectives or participles when used substantivally, i. e. when the nouns to which they refer are omitted. In such cases the article serves to emphasize the substantival character of the adjective. When two such adjectives are contrasted, the article has a demonstrative force : that which. Exx. : טוֹל אֶתָּה אֵת טוֹל אֶתָּה אֵת take thou the wet, and I (take) the dry, sc. הַיָּבֵשׁ mentioned before, or הַבּוֹיָאָה Dam. vi. 9 ; . . . הַמְּחוּבָּר על הַמָּלוּשׁ על הַמָּלוּשׁ nor from that which is loose upon that which is joined (to the soil) . . . nor from the new upon the old . . . , Ter. i. 5, 7 ; ii. 6 ; iv. 8 ; הַשּׁוֹחֵט הַמְּסוּבָּנָה if one slays a beast afflicted with a fatal illness, Hul. ii. 6 ; iv. 2, &c.

375. The attribute of a determinate noun regularly takes the article in MH as in BH : הַיָּם הַגָּדוֹל the great sea, Ber. ix. 2 ; הָהֵם these, those moneys, MŠ iii. 3, 4 ; בָּנוּ וּבָתוּ his grown-up son and daughter, ib. iv. 4 ; הַבָּלִים הַנִּיטָלִים

all the vessels that may be handled, Šab. xvii. 5 ; שְׁבִיל הַיָּחִיד הַקָּבועַ a permanent private path, Pea ii. 1.

Where the noun has a preposition prefixed, the preposition may be pointed with *pataḥ* with the article elided : בַּמַּעַן הַבּוֹבֵעַ like the bubbling spring, BB x. 8 ; לְדָבָר הָאָסוּר for a thing that is forbidden, Pe. vi. 5 ; בְּעוֹף הַדֶּק in a small bird ; בְּעוֹף הַיָּם in a big bird, Hul. iii. 1.

There are, however, important and numerous exceptions to this rule.

376. (a) The attribute (an adjective, or a participle) is found with the article, while the noun is without the article.

(i) When one attribute of a substantive is to be distinguished from another attribute of the same substantive. The article is then equivalent to a qualifying relative clause.¹

נָגֶר הַנֶּגֶר a bolt which is dragged to the ground by a string tied to the door, opposed to the following : וְהַמוּנָח one which lies loose, 'Er. x. 11 ; פְּרִיֹת הַתְּלוּשִׁין fruits which have been plucked, opposed to הַמְּחוּבְּרִין those which are fixed to the ground, Ket. viii. 3. נִכְסִים הַמְּיוֹחֲדִין property which is the possession of a special owner, opposed to הַפֶּקֶר נִכְסֵי הַפֶּקֶר ownerless property, BQ i. 2 ; צֶמֶר הַבָּאוֹת גִּיזַת הַלְקִיחוֹת fleece which comes from the country, opposed to מְמַדִּינָתָן fleece which has been taken from the mechanic, BM ii. 1.

(ii) With one attribute only, where the chief emphasis is to be laid on the attribute, rather than on the substantive. Here, too, the article is virtually equivalent to a relative clause : וְאֲשֶׁרִים הַמְּפֻלְשִׁין covered bridges with an open passage ; מְבֹי הַמְּפֻלְשִׁם a covered entry with an open passage, 'Er. ix. 4 ; עֵצָה הַהוֹנֶגֶת לוֹ a counsel which is suitable (profitable) to him, Yeb. xii. 6 ; בְּהֵמָה הַמְּקַשָּׁה לֵילֵד a beast which has hard labour in giving birth, Hul. ii. 1, 2, 4.

¹ The art. is never used in MH as a relative with a finite verb, as sometimes in BH ; cf. Ges.-K., § 138 i, k.

(iii) With standing expressions which have acquired a technical sense: שַׁעַר הָעֶלְיוֹן the Upper Gate, Šeq. vi. 1; so Ezek. ix. 2; שְׁעִיר הַמִּשְׁתַּלַּח the goat which is to be sent away, as opposed to שְׁעִיר הַחֲטָאת Yo. iv. 2; vi. 2 (cf. Lev. xvi. 10); שֹׂר הַנִּסְקָל an ox condemned to stoning, Qid. ii. 2 (cf. Exod. xxi. 28); שֹׂר הַמוֹעֵד a goring ox, the owner of which has been forewarned, as opposed to שֹׂר הָם BQ i. 4 (cf. Exod. xxi. 29); נַעֲרָה הַמְּאֻרְסָה a betrothed maiden, San. vii. 4 (cf. Deut. xxii. 25, 27); כְּנֶסֶת הַגְּדוֹלָה the Great Synagogue, as distinguished from an ordinary כְּנֶסֶת Ab. i. 1.

(iv) In numerous other cases where no special emphasis can be detected: פֹּל הַלֶּבֶן white beans, Ma'a. iv. 6; חוֹמֵץ הָאֲדוֹמִי Idumean vinegar, Pes. iii. 1; מֵימֵי הָרָעִים evil waters, Ab. i. 11; נֶפֶשׁ הַיָּפָה a good appetite, Hul. iv. 7; גַּמֵּל הַרֶכֶּה a tender camel, ib. ix. 2, and many more, especially in later texts. Many of these are, indeed, due to the negligence of copyists, as shown by a comparison of different texts. Thus, for שִׁפְחָה מִשִּׁחְרָרַת a manumitted female slave, L has מִשּׁוֹ 'ש' Ed. v. 6. So K has מְאֻרְסָה for 'המא' נ' Ned. x. 1; שֹׂר נִסְקָל for 'ש' ה' San. i. 4, &c.¹ There still remain, however, a large number of genuine cases which exhibit a looseness in the observance of this rule. But this irregularity is also found in BH; cf. Ges.-K., § 126 w, x; Driver, *Tenses*, § 209. It was probably peculiar to popular speech even in the Biblical period.

377. (b) Conversely, cases are found where the substantive has the article, but not the attribute. In some of these cases the attribute has the force of a circumstantial clause: הַמֵּאֲכִיל אֶת בָּנָיו הַמֵּאֲכִיל אֶת עֲבָדָיו בֵּין גְּדוֹלִים וּבֵין קְטָנִים one who gives to eat his sons when small, and his slaves whether grown up or small, Ter. vii. 3; הַכֹּהֵן רָאֵשׁוּ לְאֹיֵר הַתְּנוּרָה טָהוֹר טָמֵא if he caused his head to enter into an oven which is clean, he has defiled it; הַכֹּהֵן רָאֵשׁוּ לְאֹיֵר . . . הַתְּנוּרָה טָמֵא נִטְמָא unclean, Kel. viii. 10. So also: הַיָּרֵק חֵי וְאִין נִטְמָאין

¹ Cf. Krauss, *MGWJ*, li, p. 452.

הַמְבוּשָׁל they are believed in the case of vegetables when raw, but they are not believed in the case of cooked (vegetables), Pea vii. 4.¹

Other exx. do not allow of such an explanation, e.g. הַמְעֵרְכָה the great pile, Tam. ii. 4; but for הַמְעֵרְכָה שְׁנִיָּה ib. 5, L has הַחֲבִית מְרוֹתֶמֶת. So other cases rest on a textual error: הַמ' השנ' the foaming jar, L has 'חב' מר', while M reads 'הח' המר' AZ iv. 10; הַמִּים שְׂאוּבִים drawn water, L 'מים שא' N 'הש' המ' Tem. i. 4; הַשָּׁעַר צָהוּב yellow hair, Neg. x. 3, L; שַׁעַר צָהוּב, and so elsewhere.

The article is sometimes omitted with a demonstrative attribute: הַזֶּה הַכִּי הַזֶּה this heap, Ter. iii. 5; הַזֶּה הַבֵּית הַזֶּה this bag, Me'il. vi. 6.

For such irregularities in BH, cf. Ges.-K., § 126 y, and especially Koenig, *Syntax*, § 334 m, s.²

378. The article is always omitted with a number of common expressions, especially compounds, which are considered definite in themselves: תַּלְמוּד תוֹרָה the study of the Torah, Pea i. 1; דְּרָגָה אֲרָץ good manners, Ab. ii. 2; בַּעַל קָרִי one with an issue, Miq. iii. 4; בַּעַל מוֹם one with a blemish, 'Ed. iv. 1; יוֹם טוֹב a festival, 'Er. vi. 6; כֹּהֵן גָּדוֹל High Priest, Yo. i. 1; יֵצֶר טוֹב the good inclination, Ber. 5 a. Conversely, other nouns of the same character are only found with the article: בַּעַל הַבַּיִת the master of the house, Šab. i. 1; בֵּית הַמִּדְרָשׁ house of study, Šab. xvi. 1; בֵּית הַכְּנֶסֶת a synagogue, Meg. iii. 1; but plur. is without the article: בָּתֵּי כְּנֶסִיּוֹת, בָּתֵּי מִדְרָשׁוֹת Kel. xvii. 1; בָּתֵּי קְדוּשָׁה Ter. xi. 10. Further, הָאָרֶץ עם האֲרָץ Dam. i. 3; plur. עַמֵּי הָאָרֶץ Ab. iii. 10.

¹ L actually reads in the second clause עָלָיו מְבוּשָׁל, which shows that הִי is an accusative of state, like הָיָה בְּשִׁלָּה, Num. vi. 19; cf. G. B. Gray's note, *ad loc.* M., however, reads הָיָה.

² Cf. also in Moabite and Phoenician, G. A. Cooke, *NSI*, p. 26; Schroeder, *op. cit.*, §§ 43, 58, and 61. Note also in BH בֵּית הָרֶן תְּחִתּוֹן 1 Kings ix. 17, contrasted with בֵּית הָרֶן תְּחִתּוֹן 2 Chron. viii. 5; also יְרוּשָׁלַם on coins of Simon, beside the more usual הַקְדוּשָׁה, Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, p. 67 f. Cf. also Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, §§ 202, B. Rem., 203.

The article is always omitted with the genitive when introduced by שָׁל, and preceded by an anticipatory suffix : יָדוֹ שָׁל עָנִי the hand of the poor man, Šab. i. 1 ; cf. below, § 388.¹

3. The Expression of the Genitive.

379. The genitive relationship between two nouns is expressed in MH, as in BH, by putting the first noun (*regens*) in the construct state, or by a circumlocution, in which the connexion between the two nouns is indicated by a special particle placed before the second noun (*rectum*). This latter method is much more frequent in MH than in BH. Nevertheless, the construct state still remains in MH the regular and prevailing method. Circumlocution is resorted to, at least in earlier MH, only when the grammatical form of the nouns, or the desire for lucidity makes the use of the construct impracticable. Thus, the use of the circumlocution in MH can be classified under certain logical and grammatical rules.

In Aram., on the other hand, the two constructions are used indiscriminately. Contrast Ezra v. 13 : מַלְכָּא דִּי בָבֶל, with vi. 14 : מֶלֶךְ פֶּרֶס ; v. 14 : מַאֲנִיָּא דִּי בֵּית with vi. 5 : מַאֲנִיָּא בֵּית ; Dan. ii. 19 with iv. 2, 6 ; ii. 49 with iii. 12 ; iii. 1 with iii. 5, 7, &c. ; v. 5 with v. 24. This is especially the case in the *Targumim* ; cf. Winer, *op. cit.*, § 56. In the non-Jewish dialects of Aram. the construct state has been given up almost entirely, e. g. Syriac (Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 205 B), Christian Palestinian Aram. (Nöldeke, *ZDMG.*, p. 507, § 36), and nearly so in Mandaic (Nöldeke, *Mand. Gr.*, § 221 f.).²

¹ Cf. further, *JQR.*, xx, pp. 653 ff. ; Barth, *Pronominalbildung*, p. 137.

² But in the old Aram. of the Zinjirli Inscriptions the constr. state alone is used ; cf. Cooke *NSI.*, Nos. 61-3. In the Aram. papyri of Assuan, however, the constr. is confined to 'the most common words where the relation is a close and natural one' (Cowley, *Introd.*, p. 19).

(1) *The Construct State.*

380. The construct state is especially common in the following cases:

(i) With *nomina actionis* as *regens*: מְנוּעַ מִרְפָּה touching of *terepha*, Hul. iv. 4; מִתֵּן קָבִיב sprinkling of the blood round about the altar, Zeb. xiv. 10; שֶׁבִירַת הָעֵצִים breaking the bone, Pes. vii. 12; יָדִיעוֹת הַטּוֹמְאָה cases of knowledge of uncleanness, Šebu. i. 1; בִּיטּוּל בֵּית הַמִּדְרָשׁ the neglect of the house of study, Šab. xvi. 1; עֲרוּבֵי תְחוּמִין *erubim* of limits, 'Er. vii. 11; קִלְקוּלֵי הַמַּיִם the damaged receptacles of water, MQ i. 3; צִחְצִיחַ הַחֲבֹת the glistening of swords, So. viii. 1; סִכְנַת נַפְשׁוֹת danger of life, Hul. iii. 5; הַפֶּסֶד the loss by a commandment, Ab. ii. 1; הִדְלָקַת הַנֵּר kindling of the lamp, Šab. ii. 6; הוֹדָתָה הַמַּעֲשֵׂר the confession over the tithe, MŠ v. 15.

(ii) With *nomina agentis* as *regens*: חוֹתְמֵי בְּרָכוֹת those that close benedictions, Ber. ix. 3; עוֹלֵי בָבֶל those that came up from Babylon, Šebi. vi. 1; שְׁלוּחֵי מִצְוָה those sent to perform a divine commandment, Suk. ii. 4; אֲנוּסַת אָבִיו a woman outraged by her father, Yeb. xi. 1; חֲנוּן הַבִּגְדָה beadle of the Synagogue, So. vii. 7; חֲבִיבֵי חֲטָאוֹת those bound to bring sin-offerings, Šab. xi. 6. Further, adjectives: נָקִי הַדַּעַת men pure of mind, Git. ix. 8; שְׁחוּרֵי הָרֹאשׁ black-headed, Ned. iii. 8.

(iii) Nouns of a common type; קֶשֶׁר מִיּוֹכָסִין a knot of tax-gatherers, Šab. viii. 2; צְרֵכֵי הַמֵּת the requirements of the dead, ib. xxiii. 5; יֶלֶד שִׁפְחָה a child of a female slave, Qid. iii. 12; שִׁנְגַת הַמַּעֲשִׂיה error of action, Hor. ii. 3; סְעִידַת אִירּוּסִין a meal of betrothal, Pes. iii. 7; תְּנַחֲמֵי אֲבֵלִים consolations of mourners, Meḡ. iv. 3; תְּכֵשִׁיטֵי נָשִׁים ornaments of women, Pes. iii. 1; רְשׁוּת הָרַבִּים a public place, BQ iii. 1, &c.

381. The formation of the plur. of construct combinations follows the example of BH (cf. Ges.-K., § 124 p-r).

(i) The usual method is to attach the plur. termination to the *regens*: חוּטֵי צֶמֶר woollen threads, Šab. vi. 5; צוּרְפֵי זָהָב goldsmiths, ib. viii. 4; פְּקִיעֵי עֵמִיר bundles of sheaves, ib. xxiv. 2, &c.

(ii) Sometimes both nouns receive the plur. terminations. Thus with בֵּית : בְּתֵי מְדֻרָּשׁוֹת וּבְתֵי בְּנֵי־סֵדֶרֶת synagogues and houses of study, Pes. iv. 4; בְּתֵי הַבְּדִים wine-presses, MS iii. 7; בְּתֵי דִינִין courts of law, San. xi. 2; בְּתֵי נִירִין meshes, Šab. vii. 2; בְּתֵי דְשָׁנִין receptacles for ashes, Zeb. 104 b. With בָּעַל : אֲפֻסְנוֹת בָּעַל artisans, Bik. iii. 3; בָּעַלֵי דִינִים litigants, Ab. vii. 6; בָּעַלֵי בָתִּים house-holders, Kel. xvii. 1, בָּעַלֵי מוֹמִים those with a blemish, Bek. vii. 6; בָּעַלֵי מוֹמִים Tem. iv. 6 (L); בָּעַלֵי קְרִיין men with an issue, Miq. viii. 1; בָּעַלֵי שֵׁיבוֹת greyheads, Ned. iii. 8. With רָאשׁ : רָאשֵׁי חֳדָשִׁים New Moons, Pes. vii. 4; רָאשֵׁי דְבָרִים New Years, RH i. 1; רָאשֵׁי בְּרָרִים chief points, ib. ii. 6. Further, עֶרְבֵי פֶסַחִים eves of the Passover, Pes. iv. 1; עֶרְבֵי שַׁבָּתוֹת eves of the Sabbath, BM iv. 6; דִּינֵי נַפְשוֹת : דִּינֵי מָמוֹנוֹת ; דִּינֵי נַפְשוֹת civil, capital cases, San. iv. 1; עֲרֵי נַפְשוֹת witnesses in capital cases, ib. 5; חֵיבֵי חַטָּאוֹת ; חֵיבֵי אֲשָׁמוֹת those bound to bring a sin-offering, a guilt-offering, Ker. vi. 4; חֵיבֵי מִיתוֹת men guilty of death, San. vii. 10, but חֵיבֵי עוֹלָה Tem. v. 1; גְּטֵי נָשִׁים bills of divorce; שְׁחִירֵי עֲבָדִים bills of manumission, Git. i. 4.

(iii) The plur. termination is attached to the *rectum* alone, only with בֵּית as *regens*: (בְּתוּרוֹת) בֵּית הָאֶצְצָעוֹת gloves, Kel. xxvi. 3; בֵּית הַבְּדִין wine-presses, BB iii. 1; בֵּית הַנִּיחוֹת olive presses, t. Ter. iii. 1; בֵּית הַמִּשְׁתָּאוֹת banqueting houses, So. ix. 11; בֵּית הַטּוֹמְאוֹת (מִטְמְאוֹן) houses for menstruous women, Nid. vii. 4; בֵּית הַקְּמָטִים (אֵינֶן) folds and hidden parts (of the body), Miq. viii. 5; בֵּית הַפְּרָסוֹת fields rendered unclean by dead bones from a ploughed grave, Oh. xviii. 2; בֵּית הַשְּׁוּקִים market places, Makš. vi. 2.

382. A *nomen rectum* can itself become a *regens* to another *rectum*, but it can take only one *regens*. When one *rectum* has more than one *regens*, the second *regens* follows the *rectum*, and

takes the appropriate possessive suffix, as in BH (Ges.-K., § 128 a): תורה ותמורתה ולך תורה the child and the exchange of a thank-offering, Men. vii. 4; ובועלה בת זוממי בת בהן the false witnesses against, and the paramour of, the daughter of a priest, San. xi. 1; מבליאי מבגסי from the worn-out breeches and girdles of the priests, Suk. v. 3.

383. The construct is not found in MH before a relative clause, except in stereotyped conjunctive expressions like בְּדִי שֶׁ, בְּלִפְי שֶׁ, מִפְּנֵי שֶׁ, &c. (§ 303). Also with הוֹקָה state, assumption, which is very common in the constr. state before nouns (e.g. Ket. i. 6, 7; Naz. ix. 2; BB iii. 1 &c.): בְּהוֹקָה שֶׁהוּא חַיִּים on the assumption that he is alive, Git. iii. 3, 7, 8 (cf. 4); בְּהוֹקָה שֶׁלֹא נָתַן, on the assumption that he has given . . . that he has not given, BB i. 4; בְּהוֹקָה שֶׁנִּפְדָּה in the state of having been redeemed, Bek. viii. 6.

(2) Simple Circumlocution of the Genitive.

384. In addition to the constr. state, BH also indicates the genitival connexion between two nouns by the preposition לְ, prefixed to the *rectum* in apposition to the *regens* which remains in the absolute state (e.g. לְיִשְׂרָאֵל); or, further, by placing the *rectum* with this לְ in a relative clause אֲשֶׁר לְ, so as to specify more clearly the subordinate relation of the *rectum* to the *regens* (e.g. הַצֶּאֱזָן אֲשֶׁר לְ Ges.-K., § 129 a f.). This אֲשֶׁר לְ would become in colloquial speech שֶׁל, cf. § 77 f.

In MH circumlocution of the genitive by means of לְ alone is extremely rare, and generally only when the לְ may also be construed as a לְ of the dative or of reference.¹ Exx.: הַלָּבָה לְמֹשֶׁה a law of Moses from Sinai (sc. שֶׁנִּתְּנָה, Pea ii. 6); אֶרֶץ לְיִרְדֵּן the eve of the fourteenth, Pes. i. 1; so אֶרֶץ לְפֶ"א Ker. i. 6, but

¹ So in Ethiopic; cf. Dillmann, *Aethiop. Gr.*, § 145, 6.

אֵינֶר עֲבוּרֵי the eve of its intercalation (the 30th day of the month), RH 22 b; רֵאשׁ הַשָּׁנָה לְמַלְכִּים the New Year of Kings, RH. i. 1; וְנֵב לְאַרְיֹת a tail of lions, Ab. iv. 15; אֲלָפָא לְסֻלָּת *álpha* (the first, best) of fine flour, M^{en}. viii. 1; and a few more.¹

385. Much more common is the use of the relative clause in its colloquial form שֶׁל־. This particle is merely a prefix of the *rectum*, as in BH (Cant. iii. 7) and in older texts of MH. But it was gradually detached from its noun and given the appearance of an independent particle.

It follows from what has been said that the use of שֶׁל in MH is a genuine Hebraic construction derived from the BH use of שֶׁל־. שֶׁל is not an adaptation of the Aram. דִּי, דִּי־ which is merely equivalent to שֶׁל־ alone. On the contrary, the frequent use of דִּי־, דִּיל־ in Jewish Aram., instead of the more regular דִּי, or דִּי־ (דִּי־), must be ascribed to MH influence.²

386. The use of שֶׁל for the genitive may be classified as follows.

(i) To express the material.³

סָדִין שֶׁל בּוּיָן a sheet of fine linen, Yo. iii. 4; חֶבֶת שֶׁל זָהָב a jar of gold, Suk. iv. 10; also to express a quality: יֵרֶק שֶׁל תְּרוּמָה vegetables of *teruma*, 'Ed. ii. 2 and often. But the constr. is also common: בֶּן הַזָּהָב base of gold, Yo. v. 2; P^{es}. v. 5; Tam. i. 4.

(ii) When more than one *regens* govern one *rectum*: תְּאֵנִים

¹ Cf further, *JQR.*, xx, pp. 725-6.

² In Phoenician the genitive is expressed by prefixing to the *rectum* ל, then by אִשְׁל, and finally by שֶׁל. In late Phoenician, however, ש takes the place of שֶׁל, evidently under Aram. influence. In MH we never find the use of שֶׁל־ for שֶׁל־. For possible cases in BH of אִשְׁל expressing the genitive, cf. *BDB.*, p. 83, and Koenig, *Syntax*, § 283.

³ This construction is not found in BH, except, perhaps, Lev. xiii. 48; Ezra i. 11. It is regular in the Targum; cf. Gen. xxiv. 21, 53; Exod. ii. 2, 4 (but contrast vers. 21, 22, &c.), also Dan. v. 7; cf. Kautzsch, *Gr. d. Bib. Aram.*, § 81 c.

כָּבֵל וְעִנְבִּים שֶׁל טָבֵל figs and grapes of untithed produce, Ma'a. i. 7 ; וּפְרוֹן מַלְכוּת וְשׁוֹפָר שֶׁל פּוֹרְעָנוֹת verses of retribution containing the words 'remembering', 'king', and 'shofar', RH iv. 6 ; Ter. xi. 4 ; BM x. 1, &c. So in BH: Gen. xl. 5 ; Exod. xiv. 28 ; 2 Kings xi. 10 ; cf. Ges.-K., § 129 h.

(iii) When the *regens* consists of a construct combination : תְּרוֹמַת פֶּר עֲבוֹדָת מַעֲשֵׂר עָנִי שֶׁל דְּמַאי Dam. iv. 1 ; מַעֲשֵׂר שֶׁל דְּמַאי ib. 3, 4 ; הָעֶלֶם דָּבָר שֶׁל מְשִׁיחַ Sifre Num. viii. 3.

When the *rectum* is made up of such a compound expression : מַכְבֵּשׁ שֶׁל בְּעָלֵי בָתִּים a press of householders, Šab. xx. 5 ; נִכְסִים שֶׁל בְּנֵי בְרִית property of sons of the Covenant, BQ i. 2 ; or both *regens* and *rectum* consist of compound expressions : תְּפִיסַת יָד שֶׁל בַּעַל הַבַּיִת holding of hand (right of access) by the householder, 'Er. viii. 4 ; כָּל יְדוֹת הַכֵּלִים שֶׁל יוֹם הַכִּפּוּרִים all the handles of the vessels of the Day of Atonement, Yo. iii. 10.

The constr. is also found in such cases, e. g. שִׂמְחַת בֵּית הַשְּׂוֹאֵבָה the joy of the (celebration of) drawing of water, beside הַחֲלִיל שֶׁל הַשְּׂוֹאֵבָה the flute of . . . , Suk. v. 1. So in BH: Gen. xxv. 6 ; Num. xvi. 22 ; xxxi. 48, &c ; Ges.-K., § 129 d, 2 ; cf. also Koenig, *Syntax*, § 281 l-m ; § 282 e, f.

(iv) When an adjective intervenes between the *regens* and the *rectum* : יְסוֹד מַעֲרָבִי שֶׁל מִזְבֵּחַ the western base of the altar, Yo. v. 6 ; בּוֹר אֶחָד שֶׁל חֲמִישִׁים one *cor* of wheat, Ned. viii. 7 ; עֶבֶד שֶׁל שְׁנֵי שׁוֹתָפִים a row of five vines, Kil. iv. 5 ; חֲמִשָּׁה נֶפְנִים שֶׁל עֶבֶד שְׁנֵי שׁוֹתָפִים a slave of two partners, Pes. viii. 1. So in BH: 1 Sam. xxii. 20 ; Ezek. xl. 40 b.

(v) Circumlocution is generally used with nouns borrowed from other languages, including Aram., which the language could not assimilate so thoroughly as to inflect them like native words : פּוֹנִדְקָאוֹת שֶׁל עֲבוֹרִים the King's στρατιά, Qid. iv. 5 ; הַפַּנְדּוּקֵי הַתִּיבִּיּוֹן the πανδοκεία of the heathen, 'AZ ii. 1.

(vi) Generally when for one reason or another the *regens* or the

rectum is to be emphasized, as when a noun is used in a secondary or derived sense: שְׁל סָפָרִים וגו' shears of barbers, Kel. xiii. 1 (שְׁל סָפָרִים וגו' may mean a pair of barbers); הַשֵּׁן שְׁל מַעְדָּר the tooth of a mattock, ib. 2; or in enumerating different cases which either agree with or differ from one another; טַבַּעַת שְׁל מַתְּכַת טַבַּעַת שְׁל . . . , a ring of metal . . . a ring of sandal wood, ib. 6; מְסִירָה שְׁל פִּשְׁתָּן וְשֵׁל צֶמֶר . . . , a comb for flax . . . and for wool, 8; xiv. 8; xv. 2, &c. Cf. in BH 2 Sam. iii. 2, 3.

Circumlocution is found also in many other cases which cannot be well brought under the above rules, especially in later MH under Aram. influence.

(3) *Circumlocution of the Genitive with Anticipation.*

387. The circumlocutory genitive is often anticipated in MH by a possessive suffix attached to the *regens*, e.g. יָדוֹ שְׁל עָנִי the hand of the poor man, Šab. i. 1. The construction is only employed when the *regens* is a flexible noun, which is elsewhere found in the constr. state, as otherwise it could not take the suffix.

388. The *rectum* is almost always determinate, either by a suffix (תְּבוּאָתוֹ שְׁל חֲבֵירוֹ) his neighbour's produce, Kil. vii. 4) or by being a proper noun (תַּלְמִידָיו שְׁל אַהֲרֹן Aaron's disciples, Ab. i. 12): a demonstrative pronoun (הַפְּשִׁיטוֹ וְנִיתוּחוֹ שְׁל אֵלֶּינוּ) the flaying and cutting up of these, Yo. vii. 2); by having been mentioned before; or, finally, by being well known generally, or only in connexion with the subject treated in the context. Nevertheless, this determinate *rectum* never takes the article, except in such stereotyped expressions as הַקְדוּשׁ בְּרִינָה הוּא, בַּעַל הַבֵּית, and הָאָרֶץ, which are never found without the article (cf. § 378). Cf. the following passages in which the *rectum* is mentioned previously with the article, but the article is dropped when the *rectum* stands in our construction: הָעֵנִי, but יָדוֹ שְׁל עָנִי Šab. i. 1; הָעֵיבָר the embryo, but הָלְקוֹ שְׁל עֵיבָר the share of the embryo, Y^eb. vii. 3;

הָעִיר but עִיר שֶׁל תְּחוּמָּה the boundary of the city, N^{ed}. vii. 5; הָחֵצֵר but חֵצֵר שֶׁל אֲוִירָה the air of the courtyard, BB iv. 3; So. viii. 8 (עָם); Šebu. i. 7 (פָּר); Men. xi. 5 (שְׁלֵחִין); Oh. ii. 1 (מֵת); Neg. xiv. 1 (מְצוֹרֵעַ).

Evidently, the *rectum* is regarded as having been determinated by the suffix of the *regens*, and, therefore, can as little take the article, as if the suffix had been attached to itself. Hence in Ethiopic, which has no article, this construction is regularly used for rendering a noun definite.¹

In Aram., however, the *rectum* when standing in this construction is always in the emphatic state; cf. Dan. ii. 20, 44; iii. 26, and so in the *Targumim*.

389. This construction of anticipating the noun by a preceding pronominal suffix is widely used in MH to express the genitive. But it occurs also in other cases when the noun is introduced by a preposition.

With בְּ, only in the phrase בּוֹ בְּיוֹם Ya. iv. 1, &c. Cf. in Aram.: Dan. iii. 6–8, 15; v. 11; Ezra v. 3.

With לְ, אָמְרוּ לוֹ לְרֹג־לְ Er. iv. 2; לְשַׁעַר Mid. iv. 2; so usually with דִּי לְיַחֲדִיר sufficient for the private person, Men. xii. 4; דִּי לְקוֹרָה sufficient for the beam, 'Er. i. 3; so also to express an object: אֵין מְקַרְבִּין לוֹ לְאָדָם they do not draw a man near, Ab. ii. 3.

With כֹּל הַיָּמֵנִי מִן (הַיָּמִר), cf. § 301, only in the expression: לֹא כֹל הַיָּמֵנִי מִן הָרִאשׁוֹן everything does not depend on him, even on the first, Git. viii. 8; cf. BQ x. 3.

With אָמְרוּ עָלָיו עַל רַחב־דְּ they said of him, of R. Ḥanina . . . ; בֵּר. v. 5; מָה עָלָיו עַל אָדָם what is there on a man, t. Ḥag. ii. 6.

390. This construction is, of course, very common in Aram., but it is also extensively used in Assyrian (Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gr.*, § 166), and in Ethiopic (Dillmann, *Aeth. Gr.*, § 172). It is also

¹ Cf. Dillmann, *Aeth. Gr.*, § 172 c.

found in BH. Thus, before the construct state: Jer. lii. 20 (לְנִשְׁתָּם כָּל הַבָּלִים); Ezek. x. 3 (בְּבֹאֵי הָאִישׁ); xlii. 14 (בְּבֹאֵם הַבְּהֵנִים); xlv. 22; Prov. xiii. 4 (נִפְשׁוֹ עֲצֵל); Job xxix. 3 (בְּחֵלֹ גִּירוֹ); Ezra ii. 62 (בְּתֻבָּם הַמְתִּיחִשִּׁים); iii. 12 (בְּיָסְרוֹ וְהַ הַבֵּית). With circumlocution, Cant. iii. 7 (מִמָּוֶתוֹ שֶׁלֹּשְׁלֹמֹה). With ל alone: Num. i. 21-43 (פָּקְדֵיהֶם לְמֹטֶה); Ezra ix. 1 (בְּתוֹעֲבוֹתֵיהֶם לְבִנְעָנִי), &c. With the object: Exod. ii. 6 (וַתִּרְאֶהוּ אֶת); Deut. iii. 14 (וַיִּקְרָא וַיַּעֲיֶדְהוּ . . .); 1 Kings xix. 21 (בְּשִׁלְם הַבָּשָׂר); xxi. 13 (וַיַּעֲיֶדְהוּ . . . אֶת); 2 Kings xvi. 15 (וַיַּעֲיֶדְהוּ . . . אֶת); 1 Sam. xxi. 14 (וַיִּשְׁנֶה אֶת); Jer. ix. 14 (מֵאֲכִילָם אֶת); Ps. lxiii. 12; Num. xxxii. 33 (וַיִּתֵּן לָהֶם . . . לְבָנִי); Ezek. xxxiv. 2 (וַאֲמַרְתָּ אֲלֵיהֶם לְרֵעִים); 1 Chron. v. 26; xxiii. 6; 2 Chron. xxv. 5, 10. Cf. further, Driver, *Tenses*, § 201; also Ges.-K., § 131 m, n.

It is, therefore, clear that the construction in MH is of native origin, but its somewhat extensive use, especially in late MH, may be due to Aram. influence.

4. Comparison of Adjectives.

391. The Comparative degree is expressed, as in BH, by מִן or — מִ, following the adj.: עֲמוּק מִיָּן deeper than this, Nid. ii. 7; חַמְטָהּ מְרֻבָּה מְצִילָתָהּ its sun is greater than its shade, Suk. i. 1; מְשֻׁנָּה מִחֲבֵרוֹתֶיהָ different from its fellows, Šeq. vi. 2; יִתְרָה מִבְּעֵדָשָׁה more than the measure of a lentil, Neg. vi. 4.

Very often יִתֵּר is followed by עַל: סָלַע: עַל גִּ' יִתֵּר more than 50 sela', 'Ar. ii. 1; יִתְרוֹת עַל הַבִּנְיָן exceeding the building, 'Er. i. 8, 9; . . . יִתְרוֹת עַל בְּנוֹת גִּ' more than 3 years old, Ket. i. 4. Cf. in BH . . . עַל הָעוֹדֵדִים Num. iii. 46; also Gen. xlviii. 22. See further above, § 363 (iii).

יִתֵּר more, and פָּחוֹת less, are often used adverbially to emphasize the comparison: עָנִי יִתֵּר מִחֵלֶל poorer than Hillel; עָשִׂיר יִתֵּר מִרְ"א richer than R. El'azer, Yo. 35 b; פָּחוֹת מִבְּיָרֵךְ less than a dried fig, Šab. ix. 7. So after a verb יִתֵּר is sometimes omitted:

יִתְמַעַט פָּחוֹת מִשְׁוֹה פְּרוּטָה it will become less than the value of a *peruta*, BQ ix. 7; דְּבָרִי רַב־עַ מְדַבְּרִיכֶם I approve the words of . . . more than your words, Ab. ii. 13, 14.

392. The Superlative degree is expressed when the adjective is followed by a determinate noun, or by a pronoun, with the partitive ב prefixed, and introduced by the relative שֶׁ. The adjective may take the article or not: הַיָּפֶה שֶׁבָּהֶן the fairest (best) of them, Pes. ix. 8; הַגָּדוֹל שֶׁבְּדִיִּין the greatest of the judges, San. iii. 7; קְטַנָּה שֶׁבַּבְּנוֹת the smallest of girls, Šab. viii. 4; גָּדוֹלָה שֶׁבְּגִדּוּלוֹת the lightest of eggs, ib. 5; הַזָּקֵן שֶׁבְּגִדּוּלוֹת the oldest of the big ones; קְטַנָּה שֶׁבְּקְטָנוֹת the youngest of the little ones, Qid. iii. 8; טוֹב שֶׁבְּרוֹפְאִים the best of physicians; הַכֵּשֶׁר שֶׁבְּטַבָּחִים the worthiest of butchers, ib. iv. 14. Cf. in BH הַיָּפֶה בְּנָשִׁים Cant. vi. 1; Ges.-K., § 133 g.

393. The superlative idea is also expressed by the repetition of the adjective or the noun in the construct state, or, rarely, in the comparative: דַּקָּה מִן הַדַּקָּה thinnest, Yo. iv. 4; חֹם חֹם exceedingly hot, Ber. 16 a; דָּלִי רָלוֹת the greatest poverty, Ker. 10 b; so הַחֲדָרִי הַחֲדָרִי the innermost chamber, Šab. 64 b (cf. 1 Kings xx. 30; xxii. 25: (חֲדָר בְּחֶדֶר); עֲדִי עֲדִי greatest ornament, 'AZ 24 b (cf. Ezek. xvi. 7); further, וְלִפְנֵי וְלִפְנֵי within and right within, BM 16 a; Zeb. 52 a; 57 a (cf. 1 Kings vi. 17, 29). So also in BH; cf. קֹדֶשׁ הַקֳּדָשִׁים Exod. xxvi. 33; Ges.-K., § 133 i.

5. Numerals.

(1) CARDINALS.

394. אַחַת, follow the noun: מִן אַחַד; אַחַת Pea ii. 5; sometimes, with יָד, אַחַת precedes the noun: מֵאֶחַת יָד from one place, Pea iii. 3; בְּאַחַת יָד Šebi. iii. 9; Pa. vii. 2, 3 (cf. Neh. iv. 11; Dan. viii. 13). All the other numerals when used as cardinals always precede the noun. שְׁתֵּים, שְׁנַיִם are always in the construct

state to the noun. The other numerals are usually in the absolute state, and in apposition to the noun. Sometimes, however, they are in the constr. state, thus: אַרְבַּעַת BB ii. 5; vi. 7; חֲמִשָּׁת N^{ed}. vii. 2; שְׁבַעַת Bik. i. 3; Yo. i. 1; עֶשְׂרֵת San. x. 3, but the texts differ. The constr. is especially common in L: תְּשַׁעַת, תְּשַׁלֶּשֶׁת BM iii. 7; שְׁמוֹנֶת iv. 3, &c.

Some of the units take the pronominal suffixes. In addition to the BH שְׁנֵיהֶם, שְׁתֵּיהֶם, שְׁלֹשָׁתָם, אַרְבַּעָתָם, we also find חֲמִשָּׁתָן Men. xiii. 2; שִׁשָּׁתָן Mak. ii. 4; שְׁבַעָתָן Nid. ix. 8 (L, and so in citations, San. 49 b; Z^{eb}. 95 b).

The number 2 is often expressed by the dual: שְׁנֵי two *qabs*, 'Ed. i. 2 (cf. § 293), but the dual is also found with the number, no doubt for the sake of emphasis שְׁנֵי כְּבָרִים T^{oh}. v. 6; שְׁתֵּי כִירִים K^{el}. vi. 3.

395. With the numerals 2-10, the object numbered takes the plur. In שְׁתֵּי כֶסֶף, אַרְבַּעָה כֶסֶף, שְׁמוֹנֶה כֶסֶף BM iv. 3, 7, the name of a coin in the plur. (מַעוֹת) must be understood. So שְׁתֵּי הַלֶּחֶם, *sc.* חֲלּוֹת Men. v. 1; xi. 1.

396. The numerals 11-19 also take the object numbered in the plur.: י"ב שָׁבָטִים, י"ב פָּרִים Hor. i. 5; י"ד בְּבָשִׁים Suk. v. 6; ט"ו מַעְלֹת ib. ii. 6; v. 4, &c. Certain nouns, however, that are in frequent use, remain in the sing.: י"ב מִנָּה BM v. 2, י"ב זָהָב ib. viii. 8; י"ב חֶדֶשׁ Giṭ vii. 8; י"ד חֶדֶשׁ BB iii. 1; י"ח חֶדֶשׁ Naz. iii. 6; ט"ו מִנָּה K^{et}. vi. 3; ט"ו אִמָּה Kil. iv. 1; י"ח חֶדֶשׁ Giṭ. vii. 6.

397. Tens (20-90) and hundreds take the noun in the sing.: עֶשְׂרִים מְשָׁרִים Men. vii. 1; ל' קָב ib. vii. 1; מ' זֶגֶב RH i. 6; נ' זֶזו BQ iv. 1 (but also נ' דְּיֹהָרִים 50 dwellings, 'Er. v. 6); ס' לֹג Men. ix. 3; ק' סָאָה Yo. vi. 4; צ' רִים Dam. vii. 7; פ' מַעֲשֵׂר Šeq. v. 1; ע' לָשׁוֹן Ter. iv. 11. (In מֵאָה חֻלִּין Dam. vii. 7, the noun has no sing. in that special technical sense), ק' שְׁפָחָה K^{et}. v. 5 (L; edd. שְׁפָחוֹת); but ק' עוֹפּוֹת; ק' חִיּוֹת (חִיָּיה) H^{ul}. vi. 4; ק"ב לֹג Suk. v. 2;

300 times *מֵאוֹת שִׁיפָה* BQ viii. 6; *מֵאוֹת וָזוּ* Ket. iv. 7; rubbing; *מֵאוֹת בְּעִיטָה* ה' 500 times kicking (with the fist), Men. vi. 5; *מֵאוֹת וָזוּ* BM ix. 10; but *מֵאוֹת כְּהָנִים* Šeq. viii. 5; *אַרְבַּעַת אֲלָפִים אָמָה* Er. iv. 3; *אַלְפִים אָמָה* Ket. vi. 3; *אֶלֶף דִּינָר* ib. iv. 7.

But when units are added, the plur. is used: *עֶשְׂרִים וָאַרְבָּעָה* Men. vi. 6; *כֹּדֶר חֹמֶיךָ* Kil. iv. 1; *כֹּדֶר חֹמֶיךָ* Šeq. viii. 5; *כֹּדֶר שָׁנִים* Ket. xii. 4; *כֹּדֶר אֲבָנִים* Šebi. iii. 5; *כֹּדֶר קָנִים* Men. xi. 6; *מֵאוֹת וָפָנִים* Kil. v. 5; *עֶבֶד נִמְיִן* 72 cords, Šeq. viii. 5¹; *מֵאוֹת וָשָׁנִי חֲצָאִים* 102 halves, Ter. iv. 13.

(2) ORDINALS.

398. *רִאשׁוֹן* Yo. ii. 2; *רִאשׁוֹנָה* ib. i. 8; *שֵׁנִי* ii. 3; *שְׁנִיָּה* iv. 2 (with *פָּעַם* understood), Pea viii. 1; *שְׁנִיָּוֹת* Hag. ii. 2; *שְׁלִישִׁי* Yo. ii. 4; *שְׁלִישִׁית* Kil. viii. 3; *רְבִיעִי* Yo. ii. 4; *רְבִיעִית* Ber. v. 2. Also with secondary forms: *שְׁלִישִׁית רְבָעִי* Pa. i. 1; *חֲמִישִׁי* Suk. v. 6; *חֲמִישִׁית* Meg. iii. 4, &c., as in BH.

399. Ordinals above ten are expressed by the corresponding cardinals, but with a noun always before the numeral, to distinguish them from the cardinals: *לְיוֹם שְׁלֹשִׁים* on the 30th day, Naz. iii. 1; *יוֹם שְׁלֹשִׁים וָאַחַד* the 31st day, ib.; *יוֹם שְׁשִׁים* the 60th; *יוֹם שְׁשִׁים וָאַחַד* the 61st; *יוֹם שְׁשִׁים חָמֵר וָאַחַד* the 60th less one—the 59th, ib. 2; *יוֹם מֵאוֹת* the 100th; *יוֹם מֵאוֹת וָאַחַד* the 101st, ib. 4. Contrast this with the position of nouns with cardinals and ordinals in BH, Ges.-K., § 134 c, o, in which the difference between the two is not clear.

400. In counting the days of the month *יוֹם* is omitted: *בְּעֶשְׂרִים וְחֲמִשָּׁה, בִּטְוֹ בּוּ, בְּאַחַד בְּאָדָר* the 1st, 15th, 25th of Adar,

¹ In *זָקֵן וְשִׁבְעִים וְשָׁנִים* Z^eb. i. 3, the sing. is explained as indicating the complete unanimity of the assembled elders; cf. Z^eb. 12 b with Rashi, *ad loc.* Some texts have also here the plur. *וְזָקֵנִים*.

Šeq. i. 1, 2; בַּחֲדָשׁ בְּשָׁנִים the 2nd of the month, San. v. 3; בְּחֶמְצוֹ בִּי"ז the 17th of Tammuz; בֶּט', בָּאֵב, בְּעֶשֶׂר בְּחֶמְשָׁה 9th, 15th of Ab, Ta'a. iv. 6, 8; Šeq. iii. 1, &c. In giving the time of the day שְׁעוֹת may be expressed or omitted: בְּשָׁתֵּי שְׁעוֹת, בְּשָׁלֹשׁ שְׁעוֹת, בְּחֶמֶשׁ at 2, 3, 5 o'clock, San. v. 3; Pes. i. 4.

(3) DISTRIBUTIVES.

401. The distributive is expressed by the repetition of the number without the copula: ¹ אֶחָד אֶחָד; אַחַת אַחַת one by one, one at a time, Ma'a. iii. 2, 3; שְׁנֵי שְׁנֵי בָּתִּים two courts with two houses each, 'Ar. ix. 7; שְׁנֵים שְׁנֵים Yo. ii. 6; שְׁלֹשָׁה שְׁלֹשָׁה ib. 7; שְׁלֹשׁ שְׁלֹשׁ Šebi. iii. 3; Kil. v. 5; עֶשֶׂר עֶשֶׂר עֶשֶׂר ten rows of ten jars of wine each, Dam. vii. 8; שֵׁשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה שֵׁשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה Kil. iv. 9.

(4) FRACTIONS.

402. מֶחֶצֶה half, Pea v. 5; חֲצִי חֲצִי half a *qab*; חֲצִי חֲצִי a *qab* and a half, ib. viii. 5; שְׁלִישׁ שְׁלִישׁ a third, Pea v. 5; שְׁנֵי חֲצָאִי וְיָתִים 'Er. 10 b; רְבִיעַ רְבִיעַ a quarter, Pea ib.; רְבִיעִית רְבִיעִית ib. viii. 5; רֹבַע רֹבַע a quarter, Kil. ii. 1; רֶבֶעַתַּיִם רֶבֶעַתַּיִם two quarters, Ker. i. 7; חֲמִשָּׁה רְבִיעִים חֲמִשָּׁה Hal. ii. 6; חֲמִשָּׁה חֲמִשָּׁה a fifth, Pea vii. 6; חֲמִשִּׁית חֲמִשִּׁית BQ 65 b; שְׁשִׁית ² a sixth, Ter. iv. 7; שְׁמִינִי 1/8 of a *ma'ah*, j. Qid. i. 1; שְׁמִינִי Qid. 12^a; שְׁמִינִית שְׁמִינִית an eighth, Pea viii. 5; תִּישׁוּעַ תִּישׁוּעַ a ninth, j. Dam. vii, and עִשְׂרִית עִשְׂרִית a tenth, MŠ v. 9; אֶחָד מִכֹּד 1/24, Kil. ii. 2; אֶחָד מִשְׁלָשִׁים וְשָׁלֹשׁ וְשָׁלֹשׁ 1/33-1/3, Dam. v. 2; אֶחָד מִמֶּחֶה 1/48, Hal. ii. 7; אֶחָד מִמֶּאָה 1/100 Dam. v. 2; אֶחָד מִרְבּוֹא 1/10,000, Pea iii. 8.

¹ But with כֹּל, the copula is used: כֹּל אֶחָד וְאַחַת, כֹּל אֶחָד וְאַחַד, Pea iii. 1, 2.

² ת receives *dagesh* after ש to prevent the concurrence of two similar sounds; so in BH שְׁתִּים.

Sometimes אָהר is omitted : מִשְׁשִׁים . . . פּוֹחֲתִין one must not give less than 1/60, Pea i. 2 ; בְּמֵאָתִים by 1/200 Kil. v. 6.

403. (5) The following numerals are found in verbal forms : שְׁנַיִם : שָׁנוּ Pes. v. 2 ; שְׁלוֹשָׁה : שָׁלַשׁ Pes. ib. ; אַרְבָּעָה : אֶרְבַּעַת t. 'Er. ii. 1 ; מֵרֶבֶעַ 'Er. 56 b ; חֲמִשָּׁה : חֲמִשָּׁהּ BB x. 7 ; שֵׁשֶׁת : שֵׁשֶׁת Pes. ib. ; שֶׁבַע : שֶׁבַע BB 150 a ; חֲמִשָּׁהּ : חֲמִשָּׁהּ Oh. xii. 8 ; שְׁמוֹנֶה : שְׁמוֹנֶה j. Šebi. 33 b ; עֶשְׂרִים : עֶשְׂרִים Dam. iii. 1, 2 ; מֵעוֹשֶׁר : מֵעוֹשֶׁר Ma'a. iv. 3.

III. THE PRONOUN

1. The Personal Pronoun.

404. The personal pronoun is expressed with a finite verb, whenever it is desired to emphasize the subject : נִגַּח הוּא if he gored, BQ v. 3 ; אָבָל הוּא לֹא יִקְרָא but he himself must not read, Šab. i. 3 ; הֵם אָמְרוּ they said, Ab. i. 2 ; קָרָא אַתָּה read thou, Yo. i. 3 ; אָנִי הָיִיתִי בָּא I was coming, Ber. i. 6 ; אֲנִי פָסַקְתִּי לַעֲצָמִי if I had assigned by myself, Ket. xiii. 5. The emphasis is often strengthened by the addition of the particle אַף : אַף הוּא הֵעִיד he also testified, 'Ed. ii. 3 ; אַף הִיא עָשְׂתָה he, she also made, Yo. iii. 10 ; אַף הֵם אָמְרוּ they said, Suk. ii. 7 ; אַף אֲנִי לֹא אָמַרְתִּי Ta'a. i. 1 ; אַף אַתָּה אֵל תִּתְּמָה bring for thyself, Pes. iv. 2 ; אַף אַתָּה אֵל תִּתְּמָה neither shouldst thou be surprised, ib. vi. 2.

On the whole, MH uses the pronoun more sparingly than BH. It is omitted even with participles when the subject is understood : וּבּוֹשָׁה מִתְּתָנָה . . . רוצה היא she desires . . . and is ashamed of her son-in-law, Dam. iii. 6.

405. The pronoun of the third person is regularly employed in noun clauses as the copula between subject and predicate : לֹא שָׂרָה הִיא זֶה art thou Hillel ? Šab. 31 a ; לֹא שָׂרָה הִיא זֶה is not this

a field ? 'Er. 53 a ; **אלו הן הממונים** these are the overseers, Šeq. v. 1 ; **הפה שאסר הוא הפה שהתיר** the mouth that declared it forbidden is the mouth that declared it permitted, Dam. vi. 1 ; **אני הטהור** I am the unclean, Naz. viii. 1. The pronoun is sometimes placed at the end for emphasis : **אדם חלול הוא** a man is hollow, Oh. xi. 3 ; **הידים עסקניות הן** the hands are busy, Šab. 14 a. Sometimes the pronoun stands before the subject in anticipation : **שֶׁלָנוּ הוא הפסח** ours is the paschal sacrifice, &c., Pes. ix. 10 ; **מעיברת היא צרתה** her rival is pregnant, Yeb. xvi. 1 ; **עומד הוא הטהור** the clean one may stand, Pa. x. 5 ; xii. 5. Cf. in BH Cant. vi. 9, and Driver's *Tenses*, § 201.

2. The Possessive Pronoun.

406. Possession is expressed by the pronominal suffixes attached to the noun in exactly the same way as in BH. MH, however, also makes wide use of the relative **שֶׁ** with the preposition **ל** (שֶׁל) as an independent possessive pronoun (cf. §§ 79, 385). It is used both in substantival and adjectival constructions.

(i) Substantival : **שְׁלִי שְׁלִי וְשֶׁלְךָ שְׁלִי** mine is mine and thine is mine, Ab. v. 10 ; **הכל שְׁלוֹ** everything is his, ib. iv. 22 ; **מִפֶּר אֵת שְׁלָה וְשֶׁלוֹ קָיָם** he annuls hers but his remains in force, Naz. iv. 1 ; **אלו שְׁלָהֶן** these are theirs, BM i. 5.

407. (ii) Adjectival, taking the place of the pronominal suffix.

This construction is used, at least in earlier MH works, only in the following cases.

(a) On grounds of grammar :

(1) With compound expressions which have become standing phrases are thus inseparable : **מַעֲשֵׂר שְׁנֵי שְׁלָהֶם** their Second Tithe, MŠ iii. 6 ; **בֵּית קִיבּוּל שְׁלָה** its receptacle, 'Ed. iii. 5 ; **שֶׁנֶּהֱנֶה לֹא הוֹדַע** ' (cf. Lev. iv. 28) Ker. i. 2.

(2) With a composite subject : **כִּפּוֹא וּמִזְבֹּחַ שְׁלוֹ** his seat and supports, Šab. vi. 8 ; **הַפֶּת וְהַשֶּׁמֶן שְׁלָהֶם** their bread and oil, 'AZ ii. 6.

(3) With indeclinable nouns : בַּשְּׁמִינִי שָׁלָה ; Pes. viii. 5 ; מִלְחָהּ רִחִים שָׁלָהּ their mill, 'Ed. iii. 12 ; חֲמִין שָׁלוּ his hot water, t. Šab. iii. 3 ; שְׁעוֹתָ שָׁלָה her wax, t. ib. xviii. 8 ; הָאֵלֶיהָ שָׁלָהּ their tail, Šab. v. 4 ; especially foreign nouns : הָאוֹנְקָלִי שָׁלָה ἀγκύλη Kel. xiii. 7 ; מוֹבְנֵי שָׁלָה μνηχανή, ib. xviii. 2 ; הַפִּיטְמָה שָׁלָהּ their flower, 'Uq. i. 2.

408. (b) On grounds of style.

(i) With nouns used in a secondary or derived sense : הַתְּחִתּוֹן שָׁלָה its lower part, Šab. i. 10 (to distinguish from תְּחִתּוֹנָה, adjective) ; קַב שָׁלוּ his artificial foot, ib. vi. 8 (not *qab*, measure) ; הַבֵּיצִים שָׁלוּ testes, Yeb. viii. 4 ; הָאֵם שָׁלָה the matrix, Bek. iv. 4 ; הַפֶּרֶחַ שָׁלָה the calyx of a candlestick, 'Oh. iv. 8.

Sometimes to emphasize specially the noun, rather than the possessor : אֶפְיִלּוֹ הַחֲלִמּוֹן שָׁלָה even its yolk, Ter. x. 12 ; חֲפִין שָׁלָה its teeth (of a key) ; חוֹתָם שָׁלָה its seal (of a ring), Kel. xiii. 6, in antithetical cases.

409. This construction is also frequent in BH, cf. מַעֲרַת הַמִּכְפָּלָה Gen. xxiii. 9 ; xli. 43 ; Exod. xxxviii. 30 ; Lev. ix. 8 ; xvi. 6, 11 ; הַנֶּעַר אֲשֶׁר לוֹ 1 Sam. xx. 40 ; 2 Sam. xiv. 31 ; 1 Kings i. 33 ; iv. 2 ; Ruth ii. 21 ; בָּרַע בָּאֵחַ לִי Ps. xxxv. 14 ; cxx. 1 ; לִכְפֹּא לָךְ cxxxii. 11, 12 ; Lam. i. 10, &c. ; cf. Koenig, *Syntax*, § 28 i, o.

So also in Phoenician (Punic), Schröder, § 69, and in modern Arabic, Spitta, §§ 77 c, 119 a, 120 c.

3. The Demonstrative Pronoun.

410. The demonstratives הַזֶּה, הַזֶּה, הַזֶּה, are used both substantively and adjectivally : הַזֶּה אֹמֵר . . . וְהַזֶּה אֹמֵר this one says . . . and this one says, BM i. 1 ; מַעֲשָׂרוֹת זֶה בְּזוֹ the tithes of this one are in this one, Dam. vii. 6 ; אֵלֶּי וְאֵלֶּי מִתְעַרְבִין both these and these mingle, Yo. v. 6 ; or the noun follows as a predicate which is further defined

by a relative clause : אֵלֶּי דְּבָרִים שֶׁאֵין לָהֶם שִׁיעוּר these are the things which have no measure, Pea i. 1; Ber. vii. 1.

411. When used adjectivally the pronoun follows the noun : *הַמָּעוֹת הָאֵלֶּי* this loaf, Šebu. iii. 7 ; *זֶה שׁוֹר* this ox, Men. xiii. 9 ; *הַמָּעוֹת הָאֵלֶּי* this money, MŠ iii. 3. Sometimes, however, the pronoun precedes the noun in Aram. fashion : *זֶה מִדְּרָשׁ דְּרֵשׁ ר"א* this exposition, R. El'azar . . . expounded, Ket. iv. 6 ; *זו עֲרוֹת הָעִיר ר"פ* R. Papias bore this testimony, Naz. iii. 2 ; v. 4 (but cf. below, § 477) ; *עַל אֵלֶּי טוּמְאוֹת* over these cases of uncleanness, ib. vii. 2. Cf. in BH, Ges.-K., § 136 d, foot-note 1.

412. Similarly, the stronger demonstratives *הַלֵּלִי*, *הַלֵּלְךָ*, are used in both these ways : *לְמָקוֹם הַלֵּלִי* to that place, Toh. iv. 3 ; vi. 5 ; *בַּפֶּתַח הַזֶּה . . . בַּפֶּתַח הַלֵּלִי* in this entrance . . . in that entrance, ib. vi. 8 ; *ג' דְּבָרִים הַלֵּלִי* those blemishes, Ket. vii. 8 ; *הַלֵּלִי* those three things, Ab. v. 19. On the other hand : *הוֹצִיא הַלֵּלִי* that one brought forth his head, Mak. ii. 2 ; *וְהָיָה הַלֵּלִי* and that one should go forth, Yeb. xiii. 7 ; *הַלֵּלִי נוֹצֵצִין* these sprout forth, these fade, 'Er. 54 a.

413. The shortened form *הֵלָּה* is found only substantivally : *וְהֵלָּה אוֹמֵר* and that one says, Šebu. vi. 7 ; *הֵלָּה מוֹדֵר* that one is permitted, Ned. iv. 8 ; v. 6 ; *כִּיצַד הֵלָּה עוֹשֶׂה סְחוּדָה* how can that one make a business, BM iii. 2 ; San. vi. 1.

414. The pronoun of the third person is also used as a demonstrative : *בְּזֶמַן שֶׁאֵין לָהֶם אוֹמְנוֹת אֶלָּא הִיא* (L; ed. הוא) when they have no other trade but that one, San. iii. 3 ; so especially in contrast to the nearer demonstrative : *זֶה . . . הַמֹּרְדֵּה הוּא* this ass, that ass, of thine, BB v. 2 ; *הַפִּירוֹת הָאֵלֶּי . . . הַפִּירוֹת הָהֵם* this fruit . . . that fruit ; *הַמָּעוֹת הָאֵלֶּי . . . הַמָּעוֹת הָהֵם* this, that money, MŠ iii. 4 ; but more frequently *הֵלָּה* is found : *זֶה אוֹכֵל . . . וְהִיא עוֹשֶׂה* this one eats . . . and that one does . . . , ib. 3. Cf. also the exx. above, § 74. *הֵלָּה* is used also in contrast with *הוּא* : *הוּא אוֹמֵר לוֹ . . . וְהִיא אוֹמֵר לוֹ* San. vii. 10 ; Šebu, vii. 1.

415. The interrogative pronoun **אֵיזוֹ**, **אֵיזָה** is used as a demonstrative to specify one out of a number of objects: **מְבָרַךְ עַל אֵיזָה** he pronounces the benediction on whichever he likes, Ber. vi. 4; Yeb. ii. 2; **יָבִיא אֵיזוֹ שְׂיִרְצָה** he brings that one which he likes, Men. xiii. 1; **אֵיזָה שֶׁלָּקַח רָאשׁוֹן** that one (of the two) who took first, Hul. v. 3.

416. MH also uses the particle **אֵת** as a demonstrative. The particle stands alone when introducing a clause: **אֵת שֶׁיִּבְלֶת בְּעֵינָיו** the one which has a wart in its eye, Bek. vi. 10; **אֵת שֶׁהוֹלִיל נִשְׁעַן** that one on which the *golel* (the stone cover of a grave) is supported, Oh. ii. 4; Git. ix. 5-7; Makš. i. 2; v. 2. So especially to introduce two alternate cases: **אֵת שֶׁלִּפְנֵי הַמִּטָּה וְאֵת שֶׁלְּאַחֲרֵי הַמִּטָּה** **צוּרָה בָּהֶן פְּמִזְרִין אֵת שְׂאִין לַמִּטָּה** **צוּרָה בָּהֶן חֲזִיבִין** both of those before the bier, and of those behind the bier: those of whom the bier has need are absolved, but those of whom the bier has no need are bound (to read the *Šema'*), Ber. iii. 1; 'Er. viii. 11; Šeq. viii. 7; BQ iv. 2, &c. Sometimes the particle is omitted before the second case: Ned. x. 7; TY iii. 1; Ya. iii. 1.

417. When introducing a noun, **אֵת** takes the appropriate pronominal suffix of the third person: **אֹתוֹ הַיּוֹם וְאֹתוֹ הָאִישׁ** that day and that man, 'AZ i. 3; **אֵת אֲנָשֵׁי אוֹתָהּ הָעִיר** the men of that city, Be. v. 5; **לְאוֹתוֹ הַמָּקוֹם** to that place, 'AZ i. 4; **בְּאוֹתָהּ שָׁעָה** in that moment, Ber. v. 3; **אוֹתֵן הַחֲלוּלִין** those common things, Ter. v. 1; **אוֹתֵן הַיָּמִים** those days, Ned. ix. 6; **אוֹתֵן שְׁתֵּי רוּחוֹת** those two spirits, Ber. 18 b.

The origin of this demonstrative use of **אֵת** is to be found in the BH use of **אֵת** before the nominative, in order to emphasize the noun, cf. Ges.-K., § 117 i; Koenig, *Syntax*, § 279 f.; *BDB.*, p. 85, 3. An analogy to the MH use of **אֵת . . . אֵת** may be found in Ezek. xxxv. 10. Cf. also Barth, *Pronominalbildung*, p. 125.¹

¹ This use of **אֵת** (= **יָת**) is not found in Jewish Aram., or in the other

4. The Interrogative Pronoun.

418. **מִי** is only used substantively : **מִי יגלה** who would uncover? So, v. 2 ; **לְמִי מְשַׁלֵּם** to whom does he pay? BM iii. 1 ; **מָה** occurs in both the substantival and adjectival use : **מָה הַפֶּסֶיד** what has he lost? ib. v ; **מָה מְטַמֵּא לוֹ** what defiles him? Neg. xii. 5 ; **מָה הַלָּשׁוֹן** what expression do men say? ib. x. 1 ; **מָה קוֹל שְׁמַעְתָּ** what voice hast thou heard? Ber. 3 a ; **מָה אֲנִי** what am I? Ya. iv. 4.

L often has **מִי** in a neuter sense in the frequent phrase **בְּמִי דְּבָרִים** in what case does the statement apply, e.g. Šebi. iii. 7 ; Šab. xvii. 8 ; 'Er. vii. 9, 11 ; x. 1. Conversely, **מָה** is found in L of persons : **חַוִּין פִּמְהָ שְׁיִישׁ לוֹ** except one whom he has, Yeb. ii. 5. Cf. in BH **מִי שְׁמַד** Judges xiii. 17 ; *BDB.*, p. 566 a (a).

מִי is but rarely used to introduce an interrogative clause, e.g. **בְּאֵן הֵלֵל מִי** is Hillel here? Šab. 31 a.

419. **אֵיזוֹ, אֵיזוּ**, can be used both substantively and adjectively, e.g. **בְּאֵיזוֹ שָׁעָה** ; **בְּאֵיזוֹ יוֹם** San. v. 1. When used substantively, they are followed by the enclitic **הוּא, הִיא**, often spelt in one word, and without the final **א** : **אֵיזוֹהוּ דְּבָר** which is a thing that . . . ? Ter. ix. 6 ; **אֵיזוֹהוּ הוּא בֶּן זִוגוֹ** which is its pair? Šab. xii. 3 ; **אֵיזוֹהִיא** ; **בְּאֵיזוֹ שָׁנָה** ; **בְּאֵיזוֹ שָׁבִיעַ** in which week, year, San. v. 1, &c.

So also the rare plur. form **אֵילֵי** can be used in both ways : **אֵילֵי שְׁהַפְּכוּ וְאֵילֵי שְׁקָדְמוּ** t. Neg. ii. 7 ; **אֵילֵי הָאֲבָנִים** which stones? BM x. 1 ; cf. above, § 81.

Aram. dialects, except in Christian Palestinian Aram., and in Samaritan. Nöldeke's view that MH borrowed this usage from these two Aram. dialects (*ZDMG.*, xxii, p. 471) is improbable, in view of the great frequency of this usage in MH and its complete absence in Jewish Aram. It is more probable that Christian Palestinian Aram. and Samaritan borrowed this usage from MH. For other borrowings by the first-named dialect from MH, cf. Nöldeke, *ib.*, pp. 513, 522.

5. The Relative Pronoun. The use of שֶׁ.

420. The particle שֶׁ is used to introduce a clause which serves to define a preceding noun or pronoun. It is then equivalent to the English relative 'who, which'. Thus, in the nominative: שֶׁנֶחַם שׁוֹר an ox which has gored, BQ iv. 1; אֵלֹו שֶׁהֵם צְרִיכִים ; אֵלֹו שֶׁאֵינֶם צְרִיכִים these that require, that do not require, Miq. x. 3, 4; חֲטָאת שֶׁקָּבַל דָּמָה a sin-offering, the blood of which he received, Zeb. viii. 12. Accusative: שָׂדֶה שֶׁקָּצְרוּהָ גוֹיִים a field which Gentiles have reaped, Pea ii. 7; אֲבָנִים שֶׁזָּעַצְעוּתָן הַמַּחְרִישָׁה stones which the plough has moved, Šebi. iii. 7. Usually, however, the retrospective pronominal suffix is omitted, as in BH (Ges.-K., § 138 b): שׁוֹרִי שֶׁנֶּגְבַּתְּ my ox which thou hast stolen, Šebu. viii. 4; דֶּרֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל a straight road which a man should choose for himself, Ab. ii. 1; כָּל טְהָרוֹת שֶׁטִּיהַר ר"א all things which R. Eli'ezer had declared clean, Ber. 19 b.

421. Similarly, with nouns indicating place or time, when there is no risk of ambiguity, the retrospective preposition is omitted: מְקוֹם שֶׁנֶּהֱגוּ לַעֲשׂוֹת a place where they are accustomed to do, Pes. iv. 1; מִשְׁעָה שֶׁהַכֹּהֲנִים נִכְנְסִין from the time when the priests enter; לְמְקוֹם שֶׁמַּיִם אֲחֻרָיוֹנִים חוֹזְרִין to the place where the water for washing the hands after a meal returns, Ber. 46 b. But more often the preposition is expressed: מְקוֹם שֶׁנֶּעֱשׂוּ בוֹ נִסִּים a place where miracles were wrought; מְקוֹם שֶׁנֶּעְקְרָה מִמֶּנּוּ a place from which idols have been uprooted, Ber. ix. 1; מִשָּׁם שֶׁיֵּצֵא מִשָּׁם whence he came forth; הַמְּקוֹם שֶׁהָלַךְ לָשָׁם whither he went, Pes. iv. 1; דְּבָרִים שֶׁאֵדָם דְּבָרִים שֶׁאֵין יוֹצֵא בָהֶן things with which one discharges one's duty, ib. ii. 4, 5; דְּבָרִים שֶׁאֵין נִשְׁבָּעִין עֲלֵיהֶם things on which one does not take an oath, Šebu. vi. 5; מִי שֶׁהִפָּקְדוֹן אָצְלוּ he with whom is the deposited article, ib. 7; כָּל שֶׁאֵין הַכֶּלֶב יָכוֹל לְחַפֵּשׂ אַחֲרָיו everything that a dog cannot search out, Pes. ii. 2.

422. The original demonstrative significance of שֶׁ is still

apparent in cases where the indefinite **מִי**, **מָה** stands as its antecedent (cf. § 436): **מִי נִשְׁחָצְיָאוּהוּ**; **מִי נִשְׁיָצָא** anyone whom they brought forth; who went forth, 'Er. iv. 1, 3, 4, 5; **מָה נִשְׁעָשָׂה עָשׂוּי** what he has done is done, BB viii. 5. In BH **אֲשֶׁר** can stand in such cases without an antecedent, cf. Num. xxii. 6, &c.; Ges.-K., § 138 e. In MH **שֶׁ** must always have an antecedent.

Sometimes, however, **שֶׁ** is omitted after **מִי**, **מָה**: **אֵין לוֹ מִי יַתִּירָנוּ** he has no one who would make it permissible = **נִשְׁיָתִירָנוּ** Men. iv. 3; **אֵין לִי מָה אֲשִׁיב** I have nothing to reply = **נִשְׁאָשִׁיב** Kel. xiii. 7. Cf. also § 477.

Likewise, the particle **אֵת** can stand as antecedent to **שֶׁ**, whether in the accusative or the nominative: **מַעֲשֶׂךְ אֵת נֶהוּא אוֹבֵל וְאֵת** he tithes what he eats, sells, buys, Dam. ii. 2; **אֵת שְׁהָעֲרִים נִקְרְאִין עִמּוֹ** that one with which the witnesses can be read (i.e. their signatures following immediately), Git. ix. 5-7; cf. above, § 416.

423. Like **אֲשֶׁר**, and especially **כִּי** in BH (Ges.-K., § 157), **שֶׁ** also introduces a clause which serves as the object of a verb. **שֶׁ** is then equivalent to a conjunction: **לֹא לְמִדְרָגְנוּ . . . נִשְׁחָתַן פָּטוּר** didst thou not teach us that a bridegroom is absolved . . . , Ber. ii. 5; **יָוֵדֶ אֲנִי שֶׁהוּא מְקוּבֵּל** I know that he is accepted, ib. v. 5; **לִידַע . . . סָבִיר שֶׁנִּדְרָה** he thought that she had vowed, Ned. xi. 5; **לִידַע אֵל שֶׁהוּא** to know that He is God, AB iv. 22.

שֶׁ often has as its antecedent a conjunction or a preposition: **אֲחֵר שֶׁ**, **בְּשֶׁ**, **מִשֶּׁ**, &c.; cf. § 303. So **אֲשֶׁר** in BH, Ges.-K., § 104 b.

424. The use of **שֶׁ** to introduce direct narration is rare and doubtful: **הִיא כוֹתֶבֶת שֶׁנִּתְקַבְּלָתִי** she writes: I have received, Ket. v. 1 (L; edd. 'נחק'). **אָמַר לָהֶם שֶׁהַטְּהוֹרָה** (נחק') he said to them: the clean one, Ned. iv. 3; **אָמַר לָהֶם שֶׁהוֹבֵחַ** Men. ii. 1 (but **שֶׁ** in these cases may stand for **שֶׁ** **מִפְּנֵי** because); after an oath: **שְׁבוּעָה שֶׁאֵינִי יֵשֵׁן** an oath, that I will not sleep, speak, Ned. ii. 1, 2;

cf. below, §§ 456, 458 f. For similar use of אשר in BH, cf. Ges.-K., § 157 c.

425. שׁ is regularly used in adverbial expressions before לא : בְּמִטְבָּה וְשֵׁלָא בְּמִטְבָּה with, and without thanks, Šebi. iv. 2 ; בְּבֵית דִּין וְשֵׁלָא בְּבֵית דִּין at a court of law, and not at a court of law : בְּפָנָיו וְשֵׁלָא בְּפָנָיו in his presence, and not in his presence, Yeb. xiii. 1 ; שֵׁלָא בְּכַתּוּבָה without the marriage settlement, Ket. vii. 6. Rarely without שׁ, as in BH בְּלֹא מִתְבָּנִין : בְּלֹא מִסְפָּר 'Er. iv. 4 ; בְּלֹא מִסְפָּר Suk. v. 4.

426. שׁ is also often found before a verb introduced by או : או שָׁנַטְל or he took ; או שָׁנַח or put, Šab. i. 1 ; או שָׁהָיו or they were, Suk. iii. 2 ; או שָׁהוּלוּ they became dear or cheap, BB v. 8. Contrast, however, או מִיאָנוּ, &c. or repudiated, Yeb. i. 1, and often.

427. שׁ is also attached to a verb to lend it special emphasis in an antithesis : אָמַר לוֹ מֵת וְהוּא שָׁנַשְׁבֵּר he said to him : it was dead, but it was really broken (injured) ; וְהוּא שָׁמַת it was really dead, Šebu. viii. 2, 3, 5, 6 ; so in L וְהֵם שָׁיִדְעִין and they did really know, ib. iv. 11.

6. Reflexive and Reciprocal.

428. The expression of the reflexive by the simple pronominal suffix is rare in MH. Examples are : גּוֹלְלוּ אֶצְלוּ he rolls it up to himself, 'Er. x. 3 ; הָאִישׁ מִקְדָּשׁ בּוֹ וּבְשִׁלּוּחוֹ a man can betroth by himself or by his messenger ; הָאִשָּׁה מִתְקַדֶּשֶׁת בָּהּ a woman can be betrothed by herself . . . , Qid. ii. 1 ; הָאִשָּׁה כּוֹתֶבֶת אֶת גִּטָּהּ a woman may write her own *Get*, Git. ii. 5 ; אֲבִידָתוֹ וְאֲבִירַת אָבִיו his own lost property and his father's lost property, &c., BM ii. 11.

429. Usually, a periphrasis is employed to express the reflexive idea. The most common noun used for this purpose is עָצָם with the appropriate suffix.

Nomin. : **עצמו** **הפרי** the fruit itself, Šebi. viii. 7 ; **עצמו** **בתשעה** (התמיד) itself by nine, Yo. ii. 5 ; **עצמה** **האשה** the woman herself, Git. ii. 7 ; **עצמך** **תמה** wonder thyself, Makš. i. 3.

Genit. : **עצמן** **עצי** their own wood, opposed to **המערכה** the wood of the pile, Pes. vii. 8 ; **עצמו** **מעשה** his own act, opposed to **שורו** **מעשה** BQ iii. 9 ; **עצמו** **של דברים** his own words, opposed to **שורו** **דברים** Šebu. iii. 5 ; **עצמו** **על ידי** a man cannot give evidence for himself, Ket. ii. 9 ; **עצמן** **בסות** their own garment, Tam. i. 1 ; **עצמו** **לבין** privately, Bik. i. 4.

Accus., after transitive verbs, as a periphrasis of the reflexive stem : **עצמה** **קונה את** acquires herself, Qid. i. 1 ; **עצמך** **אל תעש** do not make thyself, Ab. i. 8 ; **עצמן** **את יופי** refute themselves, Mak. i. 4 (L) ; **עצמו** **את** **משים** **אדם** a man cannot make himself guilty, Yeb. 25 b.

With a preposition : **עצמו** **זה** **בְּעצמו** **זה** this by itself and this by itself, Šab. xix. 2 ; **עצמך** **לחוב** **בְּעצמך** to be guilty against thyself, Ber. i. 3 ; **עצמו** **של כהן** **בְּעצמו** by the priest himself, Sifra, 8 d ; **עצמה** **זו** **לְעצמה** **זו** this for itself and this for itself, Pes. i. 2 ; **עצמן** **יציאו** **מֵעצמן** if they went forth of themselves, Šab. 143 b.

430. Sometimes, **עצם** is preceded by **כל**, for the sake of emphasis : **עצמו** **אינו כותב** **כל** altogether he only writes, So. ii. 3 ; **עצמן** **אסור לקיים** **כל** they are altogether forbidden to preserve, t. Šab. iv. 9 ; **עצמה** **אינה נעשית** **כל** the whole of it is not done, Sifra, 8 d ; **עצמם** **של מלכים** **כל** the kings themselves, Sifre, Deut. i. 1.

431. The use of **עצם** is peculiar to MH. The similar use of **גָּרַם** in late Aram. must be an imitation of MH.¹ In BH **עצם** is found in an analogous sense, but only in the construct state, and of things, not of persons : **עצם היום הזה** Gen. vii. 13, and frequently ; **עצם השמים** Exod. xxiv. 11 ; **עצם תמו** Job xxi. 23

¹ So perhaps also in BH : **גָּרַם המעלות** 2 Kings ix. 13.

(Ges.-K., § 139 g). But it is obvious that a word meaning 'bone' must have been applied first to animate beings, and then only figuratively to inanimate objects. It is, therefore, clear that the expression must have been more commonly used in colloquial speech than appears in the literary remains of BH.

432. The BH **נָפֵשׁ** is used rarely as a reflexive: **הִמָּה נִפְשָׁהּ** wonder thyself; **מִתְחַיֵּב בְּנִפְשׁוֹ** becomes guilty against himself, Ab. iii. 4.

So **נִפְּחָה נֶשְׁל מִנְחָה** : **גִּיּוֹף** the meal offering itself, Sifra 25 b; **גִּיּוֹפוֹ** his own person, Ab. iv. 8.

Finally, the compound preposition **מֵאֵל** with the appropriate suffix sometimes expresses the reflexive idea: **הָעוֹלָה מֵאֵלֶיהָ** what springs up of itself, 'Or. i. 2; **בָּאוּ מֵאֵלֵיהֶן** they came of themselves, BM vii. 9; cf. § 301.

433. Reciprocity is expressed by such circumlocutions as the repetition of the demonstrative: **וְהָ אֶת וְהָ אֶת** they liberated each other, Yeb. xi. 5; **וְרֹאִין אֶלְו אֶת אֶלְו** they see one another, Mak. i. 9; rarely **אִישׁ . . . רָע** they should not strike one another, Pea iv. 4. Note also the use of **חֲבֵרָה**, **חֲבֵר** with inanimate objects: **בֵּין פָּצִים לְחֲבֵרוֹ** between one beam and its fellow, Šab. viii. 7; **מִמִּפְּיָנָה לְחֲבֵרָתָהּ** from one ship to the other, ib. xi. 5; **בֵּין שׁוּרָה לְחֲבֵרָתָהּ** between one row and the other, Kil. iii. 6; iv. 8; cf. § 139.

7. Indefinite.

434. Like BH, MH possesses no special indefinite pronouns. It employs certain nouns, and pronouns, and certain parts of the verb to express the indefinite subject, or object.

(i) **אָדָם שׁוֹאֵל אָדָם** one may ask, Šab. xxiii. 1; **מוֹנֶה אָדָם** one may count, ib. 2; **לֹא יִקּוּב אָדָם** one may not bore, ib. ii. 4; **שׁוֹבֵר לוֹ הָאָדָם** which one should choose for oneself, Ab. ii. 1; **יִכְוִין אָדָם אֶת דַּעְמוֹ לְשָׁמַיִם** one should direct one's mind towards

heaven, Men. xiii. 11. **כָּל אָדָם** is often strengthened by **כָּל**: **כָּל אָדָם** anyone must recline; **כָּל אָדָם קוֹרֵא** anyone may read . . . , Ber. i. 5; **כָּל אָדָם מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל** anyone in Israel, 'Ed. v. 6.

435. (ii) **כָּל** alone followed by a participle, or by **שֶׁ**: **כָּל הַשּׂוֹכֵחַ** anyone who forgets, Šab. vii. 1, 5; **כָּל הַמִּסְתַּבֵּל** anyone who gazes, Hag. ii. 1; **כָּל שֶׁאֵינוּ יוֹכֵל** one who is not able, ib. i. 1; **כָּל שֶׁעָשָׂהּ** one which he made, Suk. i. 1; . . . **כָּל שֶׁנִּגְמַל** one which when the tree be removed, ib. ii. 3; **כָּל מֵאֵל** he ate any food; **כָּל שֶׁתָּה** he drank any drink, Zab. ii. 2. So especially with the pronoun of the third person: **כָּל שֶׁהוּא**, **כָּל שֶׁהִיא**, **כָּל שֶׁהוּא** somewhat, something, anything, Šab. i. 14; ix. 6; 'Er. ii. 2, &c.

This use of **כָּל** is also very frequent in BH; cf. *BDB.*, p. 482 a (e).

436. (iii) **כִּי לְחֹשֶׁךְ** if anyone whispers to thee, Sifre, Deut. xi. 27; but usually with **שֶׁ** and a relative clause, when **כִּי** has a somewhat demonstrative force: **כִּי שָׂאֵל וְשָׁכַח** if anyone ate and forgot, Ber. viii. 7; **כִּי זָכָה מִי שֶׁזָּכָה** he wins whoever wins, Tam. v. 2; **כִּי שֶׁלֹּא שֶׁהָתָה** any woman who has not waited, Yeb. xi. 6; **כִּי שֶׁנִּתְחַרַּשׁ בְּעֵלָהּ** anyone whose husband became deaf mute, So. iv. 5.

So in BH: **כִּי אֲשֶׁר** Exod. xxxii. 33; 2 Sam. xx. 11; cf. *BDB.*, p. 567 a (g).

כָּל מִי שֶׁלֹּא רָאָה whoever has not seen, Suk. v. 1; **כָּל מִי שֶׁאֵינוּ צָרִיךְ** whoever is not in need, Pea viii. 8; **כָּל מִי שֶׁיִּרְצֶה** he gives to eat to whomever he wishes, BB viii. 7.

So with **מִה שֶׁנָּתַן נָתַן** whatever he gave, he gave, ib. vi. 7; **מִה שֶׁהָבֵאתָ טוֹל** take whatever thou hast brought, Hül. iv. 4; **מִה שֶׁלֹּא שָׁמַע** about what he has not heard, Ab. v. 7; **מִה שֶׁשָּׁמַע** whatever thou hearest, Ber. 18 b; cf. § 422. This usage is common in Qohelet, *e.g.* i. 9; iii. 15, 22, &c.; cf. *BDB.*, p. 553 a (e(b)); also col. b, 3; Ges.-K., § 137 c.

So especially with **הוּא**, **הִיא**, often written without **א**: **מִשְׁהוּ**,

מִשְׁהוּ something, anything; אָדָם טוֹעָה מִשְׁהוּ one errs somewhat, Pes. 11 b; אֶחָד עָשָׂר וּמִשְׁהוּ eleven and something over, 'Er. 87 a; נָתַן מִשְׁהוּ שֶׁמֶן he gave a little oil, Men. 60 a.

437. (iv) כָּלֹם anything, equivalent to BH מְאוֹמָה (from which it seems to be derived with the addition of כָּל, like the other indefinite nouns described above = מְאוֹם + כָּל¹), used as indefinite pronoun only with negatives: לֹא עָשָׂה כָּלֹם he did nothing, Yo. v. 7; לֹא נִשְׁתַּיֵּיר הַיִּמָּנָה כָּלֹם nothing was left of it, Hul. iii. 1; the negative is sometimes strengthened by the addition of וְלֹא עָשָׂה: לֹא כָלֹם he did nothing at all, Pes. 89 b. So מְאוֹמָה in BH is usually found with negatives, Gen. xxii. 12; xxx. 31, &c.

(v) מְקַצֵּת some: נָטַל מְקַצֵּת פִּיטָה he took some of the *Pea*, Pea iv. 2; מְקַצֵּת רֹאשֵׁי מְקַצֵּתָן some of them see, Ber. vii. 5; הָיוּ מְקַצֵּת הָעֲלִין some of the leaves were, Kil. i. 9.

(vi) אִישׁ פְּלוֹנִי בֶן אִישׁ פְּלוֹנִית so and so, an unnamed one; אִישׁ פְּלוֹנִי מְקַדֵּם פְּלוֹנִי מֵת I will not marry so-and-so, Ned. ix. 3; עֲבָרָה פְּלוֹנִית a certain transgression, San. vi. 1. So also שָׁנָה כָּךְ וְכָךְ the year so-and-so, RH 18 b; כָּךְ וְכָךְ פּוֹעֲלִים so many labourers, Šab. 150 b.

438. (vii) An indefinite subject is also expressed by the cognate participle: מֵת לוֹ מֵת if anyone died to him, San. ii. 3; סִילַק הַמִּסְלֵק הַמְדִּילֵק הַמְדִּילֵק he that has to remove removes, that has to hide hides, that has to light lights, Šab. 35 b; הַנִּכְנֵס יִכְנֵס וְהַיּוֹצֵא אֵל יֵצֵא anyone may enter, but no one may go out, ib. 60 a; cf. BH Isa. xvi. 10; xxviii. 4, 24, &c.

439. (viii) More often the subject is omitted altogether, and the verb alone, in the third person, whether in the sing. or the plur., expresses the indefinite subject. Thus the participle שׁוֹאֵל . . . וּמַשִּׁיב one asks . . . one answers, Ber. ii. 1; especially with the article, used with a demonstrative force: הַקּוֹרֵא if one reads, ib. ii. 3;

¹ But it may, perhaps, be connected with the Arab. *كل*, and equivalent to *דָּבָר* anything.

הַשּׁוֹחֵט if one slays, Šebi. x. 2 ; cf. above, §§ 329, 374 (vii). So in the plur., but without the article : קוֹרִין Ber. i. 1 ; מְזַבְּרִין ib. 8. So, particularly, when the subject is the Divine power : נִפְרָעִין מִפָּנָיו retribution is taken from him, Ab. iv. 5 ; מְסַפִּיקִין בְּיָדוֹ they enable him, ib. 6 ; הָבָא לְיַטְהַר מִסִּיעֵין לוֹ הָבָא לְיַטְמָא פּוֹתְחִין לוֹ if one comes to purify himself, they assist him ; if one comes to defile himself, they open to him (an opportunity), Šab. 104 a.

So with the perfect : וַיֵּמֶן לְבָנִים וּמָצָא שְׁחֹזִים if one prepared white ones, and found black ones, Be. i. 5 ; מָוּגוּ לוֹ they poured out to him, Pes. x. 2 ; הָבִיאוּ לְפָנָיו they brought before him, ib. 3 ; פִּירָה שֶׁהִסְקִיחָהּ . . . נֹתְנִין עָלֶיהָ a hearth which has been heated . . . one may put on it . . . , Šab. iii. 1.

With the imperf. : לֹא יָתֵן עַד שֶׁיִּגְרוֹף אוֹ עַד שֶׁיִּתֵּן אֶת הָאֶפֶר one may not put until one removes the coals, or until one puts on ashes, ib., &c. Cf. in BH, Ges.-K., § 144 d, g, i.

IV. SENTENCES AND CLAUSES

1. The Nominative Absolute.

440. The Nominative Absolute is very common in MH, as in BH and Aram.¹ In this construction the noun is placed at the head of the sentence for emphasis, and its proper grammatical relation is expressed later in the sentence by a resumptive pronoun.

441. (i) With a definite subject : פָּאָה אֵין קוֹצְרִין אוֹתָהּ בְּמַגְלֹת וְאֵין עוֹקְרִין אוֹתָהּ בְּקַרְדּוּמוֹת Pea²—they may not reap it with sickles, nor uproot it with axes, Pea iv. 4 ; הַנֶּחֱתוּמִין לֹא חֵיבוּ אוֹתָם חֲכָמִים the bakers—the sages have not laid on them the obligation, Dam. ii. 4 ; הַתְרוּמָה מָה הָיָה עוֹשִׂין בָּהּ the heave offering (of the

¹ Cf. Ges.-K., § 143 ; Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 317 ; *Mand. Gr.*, § 275.

² The corn in the corner of a field which had to be left for the poor, Lev. xxiii. 22.

shekels)—what did they do with it, Šeq. iv. 1, 3 f.; **הַדָּמַאי אֵין לוֹ** shekels) *Dammai*¹—it has not the law of the fifth, Dam. i. 2; **חֹמֶשׁ דָּמַאי . . . אֵין מְמַלְאִים הַיְמִנָה** a pool of water—one may not fill from it, 'Er. viii. 7 ff.

442. (ii) With an indefinite subject (cf. §§ 435 f., 439). Such sentences are usually equivalent to a conditional sentence in English: **אֹתוֹ מְשַׁתְּקִין . . . הָאוֹמֵר** if one says . . . they silence him, Ber. v. 3; **הַקּוֹצֵר בַּלַּיְלָה וְהַמְעַמֵּר וְהַסּוֹמֵא יֵשׁ לָהֶם שְׂבָחָה** if one reaps or binds sheaves by night, and the blind man—to them applies the law of a forgotten sheaf (Deut. xxiv. 19), Pea vi. 11; **מִי שֶׁאַחֲזוּ אוֹתוֹ בּוֹלָמוֹס מְאַכִּילֵין אוֹתוֹ** he whom faintness has seized—they make him eat, Yo. viii. 6, 7; **מִי שֶׁאֶבֶד חֹתָמוֹ מְמַתִּינִין לוֹ** if anyone has lost his seal—they wait for him, Šeq. v. 5; **מֶה שֶׁהוּא מְשַׁיֵּיר וְנִיחָנוּ** whatever he leaves—he must put it away, Pes. i. 3; . . . **כָּל שֶׁבָּא בְּחִמּוֹן אוֹתוֹ** whatever came into hot water—they may soak it, Šab. xxii. 2; **כָּל הַמִּקְבֵּל עָלָיו . . . מַעֲבִירִין מִפָּנָיו** whoever receives upon himself . . . they remove from him, Ab. iii. 6.

443. To this construction belongs the frequent resumption of the subject by the graphic particle **הָרִי** with the demonstrative pronoun: **הַחֹלֵץ לִיבְמָתוֹ הָרִי הוּא כְּאֶחָד מִן הָאֲחִים** if one grants *hališa* to the childless widow of his deceased brother—lo, he is like one of the (other) brothers, Yeb. iv. 7. This happens, especially, when the subject is described by a more or less lengthy intervening clause, or when the subject is compound: **מִי שֶׁיֵּשׁ לוֹ נִ' זֶו וְהוּא** if anyone has 50 *zuzim* with which he trades—lo, this one must not take, Pea vii. 9. Contrast with: **הָיָה עוֹשֶׂה בְיָדָיו אֲבָל . . . הָרִי** ib. 8; **מִי שֶׁיֵּשׁ לוֹ מַאֲתָיִם זֶו לֹא יִטּוֹל** if he worked with his hands, but not with his feet . . . lo, this one may eat, BM vii. 3. Contrast with the following: **הָיָה עוֹשֶׂה בְּתֵאֲנִים לֹא יֵאָכֵל בְּעֵנָבִים** if he worked at figs, he must not

¹ Fruit about which there is a doubt whether it has been tithed or not.

eat of grapes. 3 ג' אֵילָנוֹת שֶׁל ג' בְּנֵי אָדָם הָרִי אֵלָיו מִצִּטְרֵפִין trees of 3 men—lo, these combine, Š^{bi}. i. 5; אֲבָנִים שֶׁזָּעֲזְעָתָן הַמַּחְרִישָׁה אוֹ הָרִי אֵלָיו וְנִטְלוּ stones which the plough has moved, or if they were covered and became uncovered . . .—lo, these may be taken away, ib. iii. 7; הַחֲטִיִּם וְהַשְּׁעוּרִים . . . הָרִי אֵלָיו wheat, barley . . .—lo, these are liable to the law of *Halla* (Num. xv. 20).

444. Such a nom. abs. often consists of a subject, qualified by a relative clause, which has been removed from a subordinate object clause, and placed before the principal sentence. This happens usually in the case of an object clause dependent on the verb אָמַר, where two or more opposing views are expressed by different sages. The position of the nom. abs. serves to direct attention to it as the subject of the discussion that follows. Exx.: בֵּיצָה שֶׁנּוֹלָדָה בְּיוֹם טוֹב בֵּית שַׁמַּאי אוֹמְרִים תֹּאכֶל וּבֵית הִלֵּל אוֹמְרִים an egg born on a festival—the House of Šammai say, it may be eaten; but the House of Hillel say, it may not be eaten. This is equivalent to: בֵּית שַׁמַּאי אוֹמְרִים בֵּיצָה שֶׁנּוֹלָדָה בִּי"ט תֹּאכֶל Be. i. 1; so ib. 2, 8. Contrast ib. 3–7, &c.: הַשּׁוֹתֵפִין שֶׁתְּרָמוּ זֶה אַחֲרֵי זֶה ר' עֲקִיבָא אוֹמֵר תְּרוּמַת שְׁנֵיהֶם תְּרוּמָה וְחֻבְּבִים אוֹמְרִים תְּרוּמַת הָרִאשׁוֹן . . . ר' אוֹמֵר partners who tithed one after the other=R. Akiba says: the tithing of both is tithes; the sages say: the tithing of the first (alone) is tithes; R. Jose says . . .—ר'ע אוֹמֵר הַשּׁוֹתֵפִין Ter. iii. 3; so ib. 5; viii. 8, 9 (with the verb מוֹדָה); מִי שֶׁלִּיקַט אֶת הַפֶּאֶה וְאָמַר הָרִי זֶה לְאִישׁ פְּלוֹנִי עָנִי ר' אֱלִיעֶזֶר אוֹמֵר זָכָה לוֹ if anyone gathers *pea*, and says: lo, this shall be for a certain poor man—R. Eliezer says: he acquires it for him; but the sages say . . ., Pea iv. 9; BM iii. 12; Y^b. iv. 3 (with מוֹדִים).

445. Frequently, a nom. abs. is left suspended, and is not resumed again at all, but the predicate is attached to another implicit subject, whether mentioned expressly before, but in a

dependent relation, or not mentioned expressly, but understood from the context. Here, again, the position of the nom. abs. is designed to give special emphasis to a particular circumstance in the case under discussion. This construction is very common in the Mishna and Tosefta, and is characteristic of their Halakic diction. Exx.: מַעוֹת חוּלִין וּמַעוֹת מַעֲשֵׂר שְׁנֵי שְׁנֵתַפְּוּרֵי מָה שֶׁלִּיקֵט (viz. הַמְלָקֵט) common money and money of the second tithe which have been scattered together—whatever he picks up, he picks it up for the second tithe, MŠ ii. 5; עוֹבֵד בּוֹבְבִים שֶׁשָּׁלַח עוֹלָתוֹ מִמְּדִינַת הַיָּם וְשָׁלַח עִמָּה נִסְכִּים קָרִיבִין (viz. הַנִּסְכִּים) מִשְׁלֹ מִשְׁלֹ if a heathen has sent from the country across the sea his burnt-offering, and has (also) sent with it libations,—then they (the libations) are offered of his own; so further: . . . שְׁמַת Š^{eq}. vii. 6. With indefinite subject: הַמְקַרֵּה סוֹבְתוֹ בְּשִׁפּוֹדִין . . . בְּשִׁרָה (viz. הַסּוֹבֵה) if anyone covers his tabernacle with spits . . . it (the tabernacle) is fit, Suk. i. 8, 9, 11 (implicit object); ii. 2-4; הָאוֹמֵר לְשַׁלְּחוֹ צֵא וּתְרוֹם תּוֹרֵם (הַשְּׁלִיחַ) viz. בְּרַעְתּוֹ שֶׁל בַּעַל הַבַּיִת if anyone says to his messenger: go out and tithe—then he (the messenger) tithes in accordance with the mind of the householder (the sender), Ter. iv. 4; מִי שֶׁיּוֹמֵן אֶצְלוֹ אוֹרְחִים לֹא יוֹלִיכוֹ (viz. הָאוֹרְחִים) if anyone invited to himself guests—then they (the guests) may not carry with them gifts, Be. v. 7, 6; Yeb. x. 4; Ket. xiii. 2.

446. The nom. abs. may consist even of a grammatically complete sentence (i. e. with a finite verb), which is yet dependent upon a following predicate, as is shown by the context: הָיָה רוֹכֵב עַל גְּבִי בְּהֵמָה וְרָאָה אֶת הַמְצִיָּאָה וְאָמַר לַחֲבֵרוֹ הִנֵּה לִי נָטְלָה (viz. חֲבֵרוֹ) וְאָמַר (if) he rode upon an animal and saw a lost article and said to his neighbour: give it to me—he (the neighbour) took it and said . . ., BM i. 3.

447. Sometimes, the new subject is expressly referred to by a demonstrative, especially with הִיא: הִיא הַקְּבֵרוֹת הָרִי זֶה לֹא הָרִי הַיָּדוּם הַיָּדוּם

(המוצא viz.) יטמא לה if it was among the graves—lo, he (the finder, if a priest) should not defile himself for it, BM ii. 10; בִּהְיִת שְׁנֵתָעָרַב וְלָדָה בִּוְלָד שֶׁפָּחְתָּהּ הָרִי אֵלָיו אוֹכְלִין בְּתִרְמוֹמָה the wife of a priest, whose child was mixed up with the child of her female slave—lo, these (the two children) eat of *teruma* (priestly tithes), Yeb. xi. 5, iii. 4, &c.

2. Agreement between Subject and Predicate.

448. Collective nouns as subject sometimes take the predicate in the sing., sometimes in the plur.: שִׁיְהָא הַבָּקָר עוֹבֵר בְּבָלְיוֹ that the oxen may pass with their harness, Šebi. i. 5; נִטְמָא קָהָל the congregation became unclean, Pes. vii. 6; בַּלְשָׁט שֶׁנִּכְנְסָה a troop that has entered, 'AZ v. 6; בָּקִי . . . הָיָה בֵּית דִּין the court of law was not expert, San. vii. 2; but: הוֹרֵו בֵּית דִּין the court of law taught, Ho. i. 1; בְּשִׂרְאוֹ בֵּית דִּין . . . הִתְקִינוּ when the court of law saw . . . they ordained . . . , Yo. ii. 2. The two constructions may be found side by side, the sing. preceding the subject: בְּשִׁנְבִּירָה מְלָכוֹת . . . וַנִּצְחֻם when the kingdom of the house of Hasmonai prevailed, and conquered them, Šab. 21 b; מִשְׁפָּחָה אַחַת מִשְׁפָּחָה אַחַת there was a certain family in Jerusalem whose steps were big, ib. 63 b; further . . . מִחֲנֵה הַיּוֹצֵאת . . . מוֹתְרִין a troop that goes forth . . . are permitted, 'Er. 17 a.

449. So with a construct expression as subject; הָיָה מְקַצֵּת if a portion of the leaves were uncovered, Kil. i. 9; שְׂאֵר נִכְסִים יָפֵלוּ the remainder of the property shall fall, Šeq. iv. 81; הָעָבּוֹר קָבְלוּ רֹב הָעָבּוֹר the majority of the public have received, ib. v. 2; but נִטְמָא מְעוֹט הַקָּהָל the minority of the congregation became unclean, Pes. vii. 6; אֵין בָּל אָדָם חַיִּיבִין no man is guilty, Mak. ii. 7; sometimes the texts differ: אָדָם יֵטָה וְיִקְרָא every man must incline and read; בָּל אָדָם קוֹרָא בְּדַרְכּוֹ reads according to his own way, Ber. ii. 3 edd., but L: יֵטָה וְיִקְרָא; so Sifre, Deut. vii. 7; יֵהָא בָל אָדָם אוֹמֵר San. vi. 2, edd., but L: אוֹמֵרִין . . . יֵהָא.

450. A compound subject, consisting of a masc. and a fem. noun, takes the predicate in the masc. : **וְהַפֶּלֶחַ וְהַשֶּׁמֶן מְעַבְבִּין זֶה אֶת זֶה** the fine flour and the oil keep back each other, Men. iii. 5. The masc. is used even with fem. nouns : **אֵין אֹכִילָה וְהַקְטֶרֶת מְצַטְרְפִים** eating and burning incense do not combine, Zeb. vi. 7 (end); **מַחַט אוֹ טַבַּעַת . . . נִרְאִין . . . יוֹצְאִין** a needle or a ring . . . are seen but do not protrude, Kel. ix. 1.

451. Sometimes the gender agrees strictly with the grammatical form of the noun, rather than with the sense : **בְּלִשְׁתִּי שְׁנֵיבְנָסָה** 'AZ v. 6 ; **שְׁתֵּי כְּתֵי עֲדִים מְעִידוֹת** two groups of witnesses, Naz. iii. 7 ; **אֹמְנֵינִיּוֹת שׁוֹקְדוֹת** handicrafts labour diligently, t. Ber. vii. 2. Sometimes the gender agrees with the sense, and not with the grammatical form ; especially when removed from the noun : **כָּל הָעִירִיּוֹת** **מְתַבְּנְסוֹת . . . וְלָגִים . . . נִבְנָסִים** all the towns assemble . . . and spend the night . . . enter . . . , Bik. iii. 2 ; **עִירֵי קוֹרִין גְּדוֹלוֹת** big towns read (*sc.* אֲנֹשִׁי), Meg. i. 2 ; **שְׁלֹשׁ אֹמְנֵינִיּוֹת עוֹשִׂין . . . הַחֲיִיטִין** three handicrafts may work . . . tailors . . . , Pes. iv. 6 ; **בֵּית הַפְּרֻוּהָ וּבְכַרְשׁ הָיְתָה** the house of Parva, and it was in the holy precincts (*sc.* לְשַׁבַּת), Yo. iii. 6.

452. When the verb precedes the noun it may, sometimes, be used in an impersonal sense without reference to the gender and number of the following subject : **הַיּוֹמָר מְקַצָּתוֹ** its portion was made permissible, Ned. ix. 6 ; **הַגֵּיעַ עַתָּה** the time has reached, Ta. i. 4 ; **לָהּ שָׁעַת הַבִּשּׁוּר** it had a time when it was fit, Zeb. xi. 2 ; but **יִלָּקַח בּוֹ עוֹלוֹת ; הָיְתָה לָּהּ שָׁעַת** burnt-offerings shall be bought with it, Seq. vi. 6 ; **נָפַל לְתוֹכּוֹ מִיָּם ; נָפַל לְתוֹכּוֹ מִשְׁקִין** there fell into it water, liquids, &c. ; Pa. ix. 1.

3. Sentences expressing an Oath or a Vow.

453. Sentences expressing an oath are introduced by an imprecation followed by **אִם**, which then assumes a negative force, and by **אִם לֹא** with an affirmative force, as in BH (Ges.-K.,

§ 149 d). The tense used is the perf. for the past, and the imperf. for the future.

Exx. יהנה סם המות באחר בגי' של אותה אשה אם נהנתי מדינרך כלום may poison have enjoyment of one of the children of that woman (the speaker's), if I have enjoyed anything of thy dinar, Git. 35 a = I have not, &c. ; ¹אֶפְסָה אֶת בְּנֵי אִם לֹא רָאִיתִי אֶת שִׁמְעוֹן may I cut down my children if I have not seen Simeon, j. Yo. i. 1 (end) = I did see, &c. יבוא עלי אם ראו קורות ביתי שערו'ת ראשי may (some evil) come upon me if the rafters of my house have ever seen the hair of my head, j. Meg. i. 12 = they have never seen, &c. ; if I intended this, j. So. iii. 3 = I did not intend this. So even after a prayer for a blessing אם לא still has an affirmative force, though really the opposite is meant by the speaker: אֶרְאֶה בְּנַחֲמָה אם לא הִרְגֵּיתִי עַד זֹמָם may I behold the consolation (of Israel)! I have slain a false witness ²; אֶרְאֶה בְּנַחֲמָה אם לא שִׁפְכָתָּ דָם נָקִי may I behold the consolation! thou hast shed innocent blood, Mak. 5 b; San. 37 b; j. Mak. vii. 11.

454. So with the formula קֹנָם :³ אם אֶכְלָתִי, אם שָׁתִיתִי : קֹנָם (קֹנָם) I have not eaten, I have not drunk ; . . . לא רָאִיתִי : קֹנָם אם I have seen . . . , N^{ed}. iii. 2 ; אם אֶרְחֹץ אם לא אֶרְחֹץ אם : קֹנָם (קֹנָם) I will not wash, I will wash ; I will not adorn myself, I will adorn myself, ib. xi. 1. So אַתָּה (= אם) ק' אִי : ק' אַתָּה, thou wilt not benefit of mine, BQ ix. 10.⁵

¹ This particular oath was peculiar to R. Tarphon. Later generations disapproved of this form of oath, cf. BM 85^a.

² This is probably a euphemism for a curse = לא אראה בנחמה ; cf. above, בניה של אותה אשה, for בגי' ; so איבי דוד 1 Sam. xx. 16; xxv. 22 ; see Driver's notes, *ad loc*.

³ The origin and exact meaning of this word is obscure ; cf. the Lexicons and Cooke, *N Sem. Inscriptions*, pp. 33-4. Perhaps it is a popular word for curse.

⁴ קֹנָם is to be understood ; cf. the paraphrase in the Talmud babil, N^{ed}. 79 b.

⁵ L has 'שאתה ק', so also in citation, N^{ed}. 42 a : שאתה. The emendation of Albrecht, § 15 a, is unnecessary.

455. So with the formula שְׁבוּעָה expressed or understood: מִשְׁבִּיעַ אֲנִי (שְׁבוּעָה) אִם לֹא רָאִיתִי (an oath), I have seen, Šebu. iii. 8; אֲנִי אֶלֶיכֶם אִם לֹא תָבוֹאוּ וְתַעֲדוּנִי I adjure you to come and give evidence for me, ib. iv. 5 ff.

456. Often, however, such sentences are introduced by שֵׁנִי, preceded by various formulae, and construed regularly (like בִּי in BH, e. g. 1 Sam. xiv. 44).

Exx.: וְזוֹ נִשְׁבַּע אֲנִי בְּשֵׁמְךָ הַגָּדוֹל שְׁאִינִי זוֹ I swear by thy great name: I will not move, Ta'a. iii. 10; נִשְׁבַּע הַקָּדוֹשׁ בְּרוּךְ הוּא שְׁאִינִי גּוֹאֵל אֶתְכֶם the Holy One, blessed be He, swore I will redeem you, So. 13 a; מִשְׁבִּיעִין אֲנִי עָלֶיךָ . . . שְׁלֹא תִשְׁנֶה דָּבָר we adjure thee . . . that thou shalt not change anything, Yo. i. 3; אָמֵן שְׁלֹא נִטְמָאתִי אָמֵן שְׁלֹא Amen, I have not been defiled; Amen, I have not gone astray, So. ii. 6; אֶקַּח אֶת בְּנֵי שְׁוֹי הַלֵּכָה מְקִיפַחַת may I cut down my children: this is a mutilated *halaka*, Oh. xvi. 1; Šab. 116 a; with לֹא j. Yo. i. 1; הָעֲבוּדָה שְׁאֵינִי לְשָׁמַיִם by the Service I will shave thee for heaven, Ned. 9 b; but more frequently הָעֲבוּדָה is used as an exclamation in apposition, and without שֵׁנִי: הָעֲבוּדָה: . . . לֹא הִפְרָתָם וְלֹא הוֹמַתָם you have made it neither less nor more, Ber. 34 b; הָעֲבוּדָה כִּךָ שָׁמַעְתִּי מִרַבִּי . . . thus I heard from Rabbi, Yeb. 32 b.

457. So also are other formulae used in an asseveration as exclamations: הִפְעֵזוֹן הָיָה לֹא זָוָה יָדִי by this habitation (the Temple)! my hand did not move, Ket. ii. 10; בְּרִית הֵן הֵן הַדְּבָרִים שֶׁנֶּאֱמָרוּ by the Covenant! these are the very words which were told to Moses on Sinai, Pes. 38 b; גִּפְתָּה שֶׁל רוּמֵי אֵינִי מְנִיחָתְךָ by the Capitol of Rome! I will not leave thee, M'en. 41 a; cf. § 305 כִּי־וְחַיִּי וְחַיִּי רֵאשִׁיךָ לֹא נִשְׁעָה זֶה בְּלִבְךָ by thy life and by the life of thy head! not this hour alone . . . Ber. 3 a.

458. Likewise, שְׁבוּעָה may be followed by שֵׁנִי with the regular construction: שְׁבוּעָה שָׂאֹכֵל וְשֵׁנִי שָׂאֹכֵל וְשֵׁנִי שָׂאֹכֵל an oath. I will eat, I will not eat; I have eaten, I have not eaten, Šebu.

iii. 1 ff.; but also without $\text{שֶׁ} : \text{לֹא אוֹכַל לָךְ}$, beside שְׁבוּעָה Ned. ii. 2. An affirmative after $\text{שֶׁ} : \text{שְׁבוּעָה}$ can, however, also be intended to have a negative force: ש' שְׁאוּכַל לָךְ an oath, I will *not* eat of thine, ib. Cf. the explanation of Abbaye, Ned. 16 a; Šebu. 19 b, f. So . . . $\text{ש' שְׁאֵינִי יֹשֵׁן שְׁאֵינִי מְדַבֵּר}$. . . that I will not sleep, that I will not speak, ib. 1, in L. In edd. שְׁאֵינִי is probably a correction, cf. the comment of R. Nissim on this passage, Ned. 14 b.

So with the formula קִרְבֵּן שֶׁ , an affirmative is equivalent to a negative: $\text{קִרְבֵּן שְׁאוּכַל לָךְ}$ what I will eat of thine be *qorban* = I will not eat . . ., Ned. i. 4.

459. In expressing a vow, קוֹנָם , followed by an affirmative is equivalent to a negative. It is construed with a participial verb with the meaning of a future tense, and if the subject is a pronoun, it takes the introductory particle $\text{שֶׁ} : \text{קוֹנָם שְׁאֵינִי יֹשֵׁן שְׁאֵינִי מְדַבֵּר שְׁאֵינִי מְהַלֵּךְ}$ *qonam*, I will not sleep, speak, walk, Ned. ii. 1; ¹ קוֹנָם שְׁאֵתָהּ *q.*, thou wilt not benefit of me, ib. viii. 7. The object is placed first, as usual in emphatic speech: $\text{קוֹנָם סוֹפָה שְׁאֵינִי עוֹשָׂה}$ *q.*, I will not make a tabernacle; I will not take a *lulab*, ii. 2; $\text{קוֹנָם יַיִן זֶה שְׁאֵינִי טוֹעֵם}$ *q.*, this wine that I will not taste, iv. 10; $\text{קוֹנָם לְבֵיתְךָ שְׁאֵינִי נִכְנֵס שְׁאֵינִי לוֹקֵחַ}$ *q.*, that I will not enter thy house; that I will not buy thy field, v. 3. But without שֶׁ when the subject is a noun: $\text{קוֹנָם עִמּוֹךְ יְרִי עוֹשָׂה עִמּוֹךְ}$ *q.*, that my mouth will not speak with thee, that my hand will not work with thee, i. 4; $\text{קוֹנָם אִשְׁתִּי וּבְנֵי נַחֲנִים לִי}$ *q.*, that my wife and children will not benefit of me, iii. 5.

4. Interrogative Sentences.

460. A question is often expressed in MH, as in BH (Ges.-K., § 150 a), merely by the emphasis of the voice, and without any

¹ The reading in edd. שְׁאֵינִי is an erroneous correction, as shown by the citation from viii. 7. Cf. also H. Laible, שְׁאֵינִי oder שְׁאֵינִי , *MGWJ.*, vol. lx, pp. 29-40.

special introductory particle: עַד יִשְׁבְּחֶכֶּרֶן as far as those in Hebron? Yo. iii. 1; בּוּ הִתְרִיתָם לוֹ did you warn him? San. v. 1; לוֹ הָיִיתָ מְחִיר would'st thou have returned to him? Ber. 32 b; so with copulative וְ: וְלֹא אֲבֵכָה shall I not weep? ib. 28 b. Especially in long argumentative questions: . . . אִם הָעָלוּ חֻלִּים . . . if common things raised . . . should *teruma* raise . . .? Ter. v. 4; . . . תֹּאמַר בְּזִבְחִים . . . אָמַרְתָּ בְּפֶסַח if thou didst say it in case of the paschal offering . . . wilt thou say . . .? Pes. vi. 5.

461. More frequently the interrogative sentence is introduced by a particle. The BH interrogative הֲ is rare in MH, e.g. הֲתַחְמִיר זֶה מִן הַגֶּפֶן wilt thou make this more grave than the vine? Kil. iii. 7; הֲכִנָּה רָאִיתָ did you see like this? RH ii. 8. It is, however, common with לֹא, which is further strengthened by the copulative וְ used in an interrogative force (cf. last §; Ges.-K., § 150 a): וְהֲלֹא יֵשׁ שְׂאִינִן מוֹסְקִין but are not there some who do not gather their olives . . .? Pea viii. 1; וְהֲלֹא ר' יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אָמַר but did not R. Joshua say? Yeb. xvi. 3; וְהֲלֹא ר' יְהוֹשֻׁעַ אָמַר but did not R. Joshua say? Ber. 27 b. But frequently the interrogative particle is omitted: לֹא יַעֲלֶה וְיִטְלֶנָּה didst thou not teach us? Ber. ii. 5; לֹא שָׂדֶה הִיא זֶה should he not go up and take it? Ber. 53 b; לֹא שָׂדֶה הִיא זֶה is not this a field? 'Er. 53 b.

462. The particle וְכִי, which is rare in BH as an interrogative (Isa. xxxvi. 19; Job xxxix. 27) is very common in MH as introducing a lively question: וְכִי יָדְיוֹ נָשַׁל מֹשֶׁה עוֹשֹׂת מִלְחָמָה but was it the hands of Moses that made war? RH iii. 8; וְכִי מִפְּנֵי שֶׁהִיא אַחֲרֹנָה נִשְׁבְּרָה but should she gain because she is last? Ket. x. 5; וְכִי כָל הָעֵצִים but are all woods fit . . .? Ta. ii. 3. Frequently וְכִי stands even before another interrogative particle to give it greater emphasis: וְכִי הֵיאָה הָעֲנִי הֲזֶה מִחֲלִי but how can this poor man exchange? Pea v. 2; וְכִי מִפְּנֵי מָה אֵין מְמִירִים but wherefore may

they not exchange . . . ? Tem. i. 1 ; וְכִי בֹאִיוֹ שְׁעָה הַמּוֹנֶה בָּא but at what hour does the overseer come ? Tam. i. 2.

463. The interrogative adverb מָה is often used as an introductory particle in long argumentative questions (קל וחומר) : מָה אִם הַפֶּסַח . . . חַיִּיב הַזִּבְחִים . . . אֵינוֹ דִּין שֶׁיִּהְיֶה חַיִּיב what ! if the Passover offering . . . is it not justice that he should be liable . . . ? Pes. vi. 5 ; מָה אִם עֶצֶם בְּשֻׁעוֹרָה . . . אֵינוֹ דִּין שֶׁיִּהְיֶה נֹזֵיר מִלֵּלֶךְ what ! if a bone like a barley . . . , is it not justice that the Nazirite should shave . . . ? Naz. vii. 4 ; וּמָה אֵילּוֹ טָעָה . . . שָׁמָּא עָשָׂה כָּלוּם and what ! if he had erred . . . has he done anything ? ib. v. 3, &c.

464. In later MH (not in the Mishna), a question can also be introduced by בָּלוּם (§ 437) : בָּלוּם שְׁתִּינוּ have we drunk . . . ? בָּלוּם הַבִּירָה ר' גַּמְלִיאֵל מַעֲוֹלָם has Rabban Gamaliel ever known thee ? 'Er. 64 b ; בָּלוּם יֵשׁ אָדָם שֶׁיִּדְּעַע is there anyone who controverts . . . ? Ber. 27 b ; בָּלוּם חֶסֶר לְבֵית הַמֶּלֶךְ is anything needed for the king's house ? בָּלוּם יֵשׁ סְעוּדָה בְּלֹא טוֹרַח is there a feast without effort ? Šab. 153 a ; 89 a ; Pes. 66 a ; 118 b ; Ber. 10 a ; 'Ar. 15 a, &c.

Further, שָׁמָּא (‘perhaps’) : שָׁמָּא אֵינוֹ צְרִיךְ לוֹמַר is it unnecessary to say ? j. Git. i. 1 ; שָׁמָּא מְגוֹרֶשֶׁת הִיא is she perhaps divorced ? ib. viii. 5 ; שָׁמָּא כָּלוּם הוּא is it anything ? j. So. i. 1.

465. An indirect question is construed just like a direct question : הַחֲזֹן רֹאֶה הֵיכָן הַתִּינוּקוֹת קוֹרִין the beadle sees where the children read, Šab. i. 3 ; בּוֹאוּ וְהִפִּיסוּ מִי מַעֲלָה . . . come and cast lots who should bring up . . . , Tam. v. 2 ; שְׂמִין אוֹתָהּ בְּמָה שָׁמִין אֹתָהּ היא they value it how much is it capable of producing, BM ix. 3

466. In a disjunctive question, the first is formed like an ordinary question, the second is introduced by וְכִי מְרֹב : וְכִי מְרֹב הָעֲמָרִים יוֹפִי כּוּחוֹ שֶׁל בַּעַל הַבֵּית אוֹ הוֹרַע כּוּחוֹ is the power of the owner improved because of the multitude of the sheaves, or is it worsened ? Pea vi. 6 ; הֲכֹנָה רָאִיתָ אוֹ כֵּן hast thou seen like this,

sense. It is never found in MH in the derived BH sense: oh, would! (Ges.-K., § 151 b).

470. In later Aggadic diction a wish is also expressed by הָלוֹאִי (= BH לֹא, § 304): הָלוֹאִי אוֹתִי עָזְבוּ וְאֶת תּוֹרַתִּי שָׁמְרוּ: הָלוֹאִי יְהִי חֶלְקִי בְּאֶרֶץ; oh, would that my portion were in this land, Gen. R. 39; oh, would that she were graceful before me, ib. 89. הָלוֹאִי also stands at the end of the sentence as an exclamation: טוֹל אוֹתָהּ בְּתַנּוּם וְהָלוֹאִי take it for nothing, oh do! Meg. 14 a.

6. Negative Sentences.

471. The uses of the negative adverbs לֹא, אֵין, אַל follow the same rules as in BH. לֹא is used to negative verbal clauses, while אֵין is used to negative noun clauses. Sometimes, however, participles are negated by לֹא; cf. above, §§ 339-40. אַל is only used with the imperfect to express a negative wish, an exhortation, or a mild prohibition. With ordinary prohibitions, as well as in negative statements with the perfect and imperfect, לֹא is used: אַל תִּהְיֶי כַעֲבָדִים be not like servants, Ab. i. 3; אַל תַּעַשׂ עֲצָמְךָ make not thyself, ib. 8; לֹא יָקֹל אָדָם אֶת רֹאשׁוֹ one must not be light-headed (i.e. guilty of levity), Ber. ix. 5.

472. The form בִּל is found for לֹא in citations of Biblical prohibitions: הוּא עוֹבֵר עַל בִּל תִּנָּקֶע he transgresses (the command) 'thou shalt not diminish'; . . . הוּא עוֹבֵר עַל בִּל תוֹסִיף 'thou shalt not add' (Deut. xiii. 1); לֹא נֹאמֵר בִּל תוֹסִיף לֹא נֹאמֵר בִּל תִּנָּקֶע 'thou shalt not add', 'thou shalt not diminish' was not said, Zeb. viii. 10; כֹּל שֶׁהוּא בִּבְל תָּשׁוּב all that is in (the category of) 'thou shalt not return' (Deut. xxiv. 19), Pea vi. 4 (L has בִּל for בִּל); שְׂמוֹנֶה־עָלָיו בִּבְל יֵרָאֶה וּבִבְל יִמָּצֵא about which one is prohibited: 'it shall not be seen', and 'it shall not be found' (Exod. xiii. 7; xii. 19); P'es. iii. 3 (L has בִּל . . . וּבִל); אֲסוּר בִּבְל יֵרָאֶה וּבִבְל יִמָּצֵא

prohibited by (the command) 'thou . . .', ib. ix. 3. Contrast: **הוא בלא יבוא** he is in (the category of) 'he shall not come', (Deut. xxiii. 3); Yeb. iv. 13; **זה הרי זה בלא יחל דברו** lo, this one is in (the category of) 'he shall not profane his word' (Num. xxx. 3); Ned. ii. 1 (L has **בל** for **בלא**). Perhaps **בל**, **בבל** is not a genuine grammatical form, but merely a scribal contraction for **בלא** = **בל**.

473. The negative is sometimes repeated to add emphasis: **אין להם לא כף ולא כף** they have not, either so or so, Šab. 26 a; **לא עשה ולא כלום** he has done nothing at all, Pes. 89 b; Ned. 7 b. Emphasis is also expressed by **כל עיקר** at the end of the clause; **אינו מערב כל עיקר** he does not make an 'erub at all 'Er. iii. 6; **אין משגיחין . . . כל עיקר** one must not observe . . . at all, Be. iii. 6.

474. In a series of parallel verbs, the negative is sometimes expressed only with the first verb, but its force is extended also to the following verbs, as in BH (cf. Ges.-K., § 152 z): **לא יקוב . . . וימלאנה . . . ויתננה** one must not perforate . . . and fill it . . . and place it . . ., Šab. ii. 4; **לא יקשור . . . וימשוך** one must not bind . . . and draw, ib. v. 3; 'Er. v. 5, 6, 9; **אין משקין ושוחטין** one may not give to drink nor slay . . ., Be. v. 7.

475. **שָׁמָא** is used, like **פֶּן** in BH, to introduce a clause after a verb of fear or caution, expressed or implied, and is then equivalent to a negative: **היה ירא שָׁמָא תתעבר** he was afraid, lest it be intercalated (= **שלא**), 'Er. iii. 7; **היו זהיר . . . שָׁמָא . . . ילמדו לשקר** . . . that they should not learn . . . to lie, Ab. i. 9, 11; **תנעו שָׁמָא הוזהרו** take care that you touch not, Hag. iii. 8 (L; edd. **שלא**); **שָׁמָא יקלקלו** (for fear) lest they spoil, Hul. i. 1; **שָׁמָא יקדים קנה לנשט** (for fear) lest the windpipe come before the gullet, Ta'a. 5 b.

476. Note.—In colloquial speech, viz. in vows, **לא** was sometimes joined with the following noun almost like a preposition: **לא חולין = לחולין** Ned. i. 3; **לא קרבן = לקרבן** ib. 4 (L has

לֹא חוֹלִין, לֹא מְרִבֵּן; but cf. the discussion in Ned. 11 a, b; 13 b, and the comment of R. Nissim on Ned. i. 3. In ii. 1, L also has (לֹא חוֹלִין = לְחוֹלִין).

7. Relative Clauses.

477. The construction of relative clauses has already been described in the treatment of שֶׁ (§ 420 f.). Here we may add that sometimes a relative clause stands in apposition to the noun it qualifies, and without שֶׁ: **לֹא זֶה הוּא דֶּרֶךְ מוֹצִיאַתּוֹ מִיְדֵי עֲבֵרָה**; שֶׁ is not the way that brings him out of the power of a transgression, Yeb. xv. 6, 7; **יֵשׁ בּוֹ דְּרָכִים שְׁוֶה לְחֵיהּ**; it has ways in which it is like a (wild) animal, Bik. ii. 8; **אֵין לוֹ מִי יַתִּירָנִי**; it has none that will make it permissible, Men. iv. 3 (cf. § 422). Perhaps here belong also cases with the demonstrative before the noun when followed by a verb: **שֶׁהָעִיר = זֶה עִירוֹת הָעִיר**; שֶׁהָעִיר = זֶה מְדֻרָּשׁ דְּרָשׁ; cf. above, § 411.

8. Circumstantial Clauses.

478. The circumstances attending an action, or the subject or object of an action, are usually expressed by a dependent clause. Such a clause may be a simple relative clause, or, more frequently, a relative or other clause under the government of a preposition. Exx.: **יּוֹשְׁבִים שְׁלֹא מְסוּמָכִים** sitting without being supported, Kel. ii. 2; **אֵין טִמְנִים . . . בְּעֵשְׂבִים בְּזֶמַן שֶׁהֵם לְחִים** one may not hide . . . in grass when it is moist, Šab. iv. 1; **נולֵד בְּשִׁחּוּא** he was born circumcized, Šab. 135 a; **נכֵּנס ר"ט בְּלֹא מְחִבָּן**; R. Tarphon entered without intention, 'Er. iv. 4; **חולֵץ תְּפִלִּין בְּרָחוֹק**; he removes the *tephillin* at a distance of four cubits, Ber. 23 a.

Sometimes a participle or adjective in apposition will express a circumstance: **קוֹצָה חֲלָתָה עֲרוּמָה**; קוֹרֵא עוֹמֵד; cf. § 357.

479. More frequently, however, the circumstantial clause is

co-ordinated with the principal clause either with the copulative וְ, or without.

(i) Without the copula: שָׂאוֹר . . . שָׁנְפָלוּ . . . לֹא בָּהּ כְּדִי לְחַמֵּן that fell . . . there not being sufficient to leaven, Or. ii. 11, 14, 15; הָיָה רָחוֹק . . . אֲמוֹת אֹמְרִים לוֹ when he was 10 cubits distant . . . they would say to him, San. vi. 3; יָלְדָה עֹדָה she gave birth while still a slave, viii. 1; בָּא לוֹ . . . הַפֶּנֶן he came . . . the deputy at his right, Yo. iii. 9; so Šab. i. 1; Pes. viii. 1, &c.

(ii) With copula: בָּא לוֹ אֶצֶל פָּרוֹ וּפְרוֹ הָיָה עֹמֵד he came to his bullock, the bullock standing, Yo. iii. 8; בֵּית הַפְּרוֹוָה וּבִקְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה ib. 6; מְמַאֲנֶת וְהִיא קֹטְנָה she can repudiate while a minor, Y^b. xiii. 1; נָפְלָה עֲלֵיהֶם מַפּוֹלֶת וְהֵם מְגוּלִים earth fell upon them while (the leaves) were bare, Ma'a. v. 2; מְכַסֶּה וְעוֹדָה בְּבֵית אָבִיהָ he covers her while she is still in her father's house, Ket. vi. 5; vii. 8; נֹטֵל אֶדָם אֶת בְּנוֹ וְהָאֶבֶן בְּיָדוֹ one may carry his son with a stone in his (the son's) hand, Šab. xxi. 1; חֵלֶב שֶׁחִלְבוּ גוֹי וְאִין הָלֵב שֶׁיִּשְׂרָאֵל רוֹאֵהוּ milk which a heathen has milked without an Israelite watching him, 'AZ ii. 9, 10.

480. For the sake of emphasis, a circumstantial clause can precede its principal clause: עוֹדָהוּ הִפֵּל עַל כְּתָפוֹ קוֹרָא he reads while the basket is still on his shoulder, Bik. iii. 6; מִטָּה עַל צְדָה וְהִיא נוֹפֶלֶת it falls off as he tilts it on its side, Šab. xxi. 2; iv. 2; הוּא נוֹטֵל אֶת הַגִּלְגָּלִים וְהַתְּרָסִים נוֹפְלִים the potsherd falls, when he takes away the dung, Kel. iii. 4. Cf. in BH, Ges.-K., §§ 116 v, 142 e; Driver, *Tenses*, § 166 ff.

9. Causal Clauses.

481. A clause giving the reason of a preceding or following sentence can be introduced by a variety of conjunctions.

By the fossilized verb הוּאִיל, followed by the copula (§ 302, note): הוּאִיל וְנִרְאָה כְּתַבְנִית הַכְּרָמִים הָרִי זֶה כָּרֵם because it looks like the

shape of a vineyard, it is a vineyard, Kil. v. 1; הוֹאִיל וְלֹא הָיְתָה since his intention was not for this, 'Er. iv. 4.

482. By שֶׁ־, שֶׁלֹּא, שֶׁאִין, שֶׁ־ for on wine he says, Ber. vi. 1; שֶׁלֹּא נִחָשְׁדוּ because they are not suspected, Šebi. ix. i; שֶׁאִינוּ יָכוֹל לֵאמֹר for he cannot say, Bik. i. 4; לֹא שֶׁזָּדוּ not because they needed them, RH ii. 6.

By שֶׁ־ combined with other conjunctions: מִפְּנֵי שֶׁהוּא מִכְבֶּה because he extinguishes, Šab. iii. 6; מִפְּנֵי שֶׁהֵן לִירוֹקָה because they are for jaundice, ib. xiv. 3; מִפְּנֵי שֶׁלֹּא שָׂוּ because they are not equal, ib. vii. 4. Before a noun מִפְּנֵי stands as *regens* without שֶׁ־: מִפְּנֵי בִטּוֹל בֵּית הַמְּדֻרָּשׁ because of the neglect of the house of study, ib. xvi. 1; מִפְּנֵי הַכָּתוּב בַּתּוֹרָה because of what is written in the Torah, Bik. i. 3.

לִפִּי שֶׁאִינוּ מֵן הַמּוֹכֵן : לִפִּי שֶׁ־ because it is not prepared, Šab. iii. 6; לִפִּי שֶׁאִינוּ מֵאֲכָל בְּרִיאִים because it is not the food of healthy persons, ib. xiv. 3.

מֵאַחֵר שֶׁשְׁנֵיהֶם יָכוּלִים : מֵאַחֵר שֶׁ־ because both are able, BM x. 6; מֵאַחֵר שֶׁהֶעֱדַתְּ לָנוּ since thou hast testified to us, Yeb. vii. 3.

בְּשֶׁבִיל שֶׁאֲנִי זָכָר הַפְּסָדִיתִי : בְּשֶׁבִיל שֶׁ־ because I am a male should I lose! BB ix. 1; בְּשֶׁבִיל שֶׁבִנְעָנִי זֶה הָרָאָה בְּאֶצְבָּעוֹ because this Canaanite has shown with his finger, So. 46 a.

עַל שֶׁהָרַג אֶת הַנֶּפֶשׁ : עַל שֶׁ־ because he slew a person, 'Ed. vi. 1.

עַל שֵׁם שֶׁזָּמַח הַקֹּדֶשׁ : עַל שֵׁם שֶׁ־ because the Holy One, blessed be He, passed over, Pes. x. 5; עַל שֵׁם שֶׁנִּגְאָלוּ : עַל שֵׁם שֶׁ־ because they were redeemed, they embittered, ib.

מֵשׁוּם שֶׁנֶּאֱמַר : מֵשׁוּם שֶׁ־ because it is said, Bik. i. 2.

10. Conditional Sentences.

483. The construction of conditional sentences in MH follows in the main the principles of similar sentences in BH (Ges.-K., § 159).

The great variety of these sentences may be classified under two heads: those without an introductory particle, and those with an introductory particle.

484. (i) Without an introductory particle.

The relation between the protasis and the apodosis can be expressed by mere juxtaposition. This happens only when the condition is conceived as already fulfilled. The verb in the protasis is always the perfect; in the apodosis it is usually a participle, but sometimes a perfect. But when a command or prohibition is implied, the apodosis takes the imperfect (cf. above, § 310).

Exx.: נִמְצָא הַגָּנֵב מִשְׁלָם תְּשַׁלְּמִי כֶּפֶל, טָבַח וּמָכַר מִשְׁלָם ד' וְה' if the thief has been found, he pays a double payment; if he slew it, or sold it, he pays four- or five-fold, BM iii. 1; נִגְמַר הַדִּין מוֹצִיאִין if the case is finished, they lead him forth, San. vi. 1; וְאִתּוֹ if he read, but was not careful in (the enunciation of) its letters . . . he has discharged his duty, Ber. ii. 3; קָרָא וְטָעָה יַחְזוֹר if he read and made a mistake, he must return . . . , ib.; נִזְכֵּר שֶׁהוּא בְּעַל קָרִי לֹא יִפְסִיק if he recollected that he had an issue, he should not stop, ib. iii. 5; לֹא כִיפְּהוּ מִבְּעוֹר יוֹם לֹא if he did not cover it while it was day, he must not cover it after it has become dark, Šab. iv. 2.

Here may be mentioned the sentences with an indefinite subject, such as a determinate participle, or מִי יֵשׁ, especially with Nominative Absolute, which are equivalent to a conditional sentence in English; cf. §§ 436, 442.

485. (ii) With an introductory particle.

אֲמֵן introduces a condition that has already been fulfilled in the past or that is capable of fulfilment in the present or future. In the first case, the protasis always takes the perfect, since the condition has already been fulfilled. The apodosis takes the perfect, if its act lies in the past; the participle, if the act lies

in the present or the future, and the imperfect, if a command is implied.

Exx. : **אם פִּיּוֹן לְבוֹ יֵצֵא** if he directed his attention, he has discharged his duty, Ber. ii. 1 ; **אם נִתְרַפָּא נִתְרַפָּא** if he was healed, he was healed (then it does not matter), Šab. xxii. 6 ; **אם מִיאָנָה מִיאָנָה** if she has repudiated (her marriage), then it is a repudiation, Yeb. xiii. 7 ; **אם בָּא לְהוֹסִיף מוֹסִיף** if he has come to add, he may add, Šab. 51 a ; **אם לֹא עָלָה עֲמוּד הַשַּׁחַר חִיָּבִין אַתֶּם** if dawn has not risen, you are bound to . . . Ber. i. 1 ; with the apodosis first : **אם לֹא הָבִיא כָּלִי מִעֶרֶב שַׁבָּת** a bridegroom is absolved . . . if he has not performed the act, ib. ii. 5 ; **אם מָת** if he has not brought the instrument on the eve of the Sabbath, he may bring it on the Sabbath, Šab. xix. 1 ; **אם רָאִיתָ תִּלְמִיד** if dead, they must leave him, Yo. viii. 7 ; **אם רָאִיתָ תִּלְמִיד** if thou hast seen a scholar commit a transgression . . . do not think . . . , Ber. 19 a.

486. When the condition has not been fulfilled, but is capable of fulfilment in the present or the future, the protasis takes the participle, or, less frequently, an imperfect, or even a perfect in the sense of a *futurum exactum* (cf. § 313). The apodosis takes a participle, or an imperfect when a command is implied, or even an imperative.

Exx. : **אם רָצָה לְקֹרֹת קוּרָא** if he wishes to read . . . , he may read, Ber. ii. 8 ; **אם יִכּוּלִין לְהִתְחִיל . . . יִתְחִילוּ** if they are able to begin . . . let them begin, ib. iii. 2 ; **אם אֵינוּ יֹכֵל לֵירֵד יִתּוּר אֶת פָּנָיו** if he cannot go down, then he should turn his face, ib. iv. 5 ; **אם תִּקְנִיטֵנִי גּוֹרְנִי** if thou wilt provoke me, I shall decree . . . , Šab. 17 a ; **אם אֶחְרַמְתִּי צֹאוּ וְשַׁחֲטוּ עָלַי** if I shall have been late, go forth and slay for me, Pes. ix. 9.

487. Both protasis and apodosis can consist of a noun clause, as in some of the examples above ; further : **אם תִּרְמוּם אֵין תִּרְמוּתָם** if they did tithe, it is not *teruma*, Ter. i. 1 ; **אם אֵין רְצוֹנוֹ**

מְבַטְלָהּ if his wish is against idolatry, why does he not abolish it, 'AZ iv. 7.

488. The subject of the apodosis is sometimes resumed by **אם יש להם עליו מזונות הרי** (cf. § 443): **אם יש להם עליו מזונות הרי** with the demonstrative (cf. § 443): **אם יש להם עליו מזונות הרי** if they have (to receive) from him food, lo, these shall not eat, Ma'a. iii. 1; **ואם מתחשב הוא הרי זה לא ירחוץ** if he claims importance, lo, this one shall not wash, Šebi. viii. 11.

489. An alternative condition in the negative is expressed by **אם ביון לבו** but if not, without the repetition of the verb: **אם ביון לבו** **ואם לא יצא** Ber. ii. 1; **ואם לא יתחילו** . . . **ואם לא יצא** Ber. ii. 1; **אם שגורה תפלתו בי . . . ואם לא יודע אני** if my prayer is fluent in my mouth . . . but if not, I know . . . , ib. v. 5.

490. **אילו לא**, if the condition is represented as not fulfilled. The protasis takes the perfect, the apodosis takes the perfect if the consequence lies in the past, and the imperfect, if the consequence lies in the future: **אילו הייתי יודע . . . לא הייתי** if I had known . . . I would not have vowed, Ned. ix. 2, 4, 5; **אילו הייתי עומד . . . הייתי מתוויר לו** if thou hast been standing . . . wouldst thou have returned . . . ? Ber. 32 b; **אילו לא הייתה שרפה** if burning had not been heavier, it would not have been given . . . , San. ix. 3; **אילו אני פסקתי לעצמי אשב עד שילבין ראשי** if I had fixed it for myself, then I would sit till my head has become white, Ket. xiii. 5.

491. **אילולי** (or **אלמלי**), **אילולי לא**, **אלמלי לא** in Palestinian texts (cf. § 302). Like **אילו**, these conjunctions introduce a condition that has not been fulfilled. The verb is in the perfect, both in the protasis and apodosis: **אילולי הטיח בן זבאי את ראשו . . . לא היו** **אלמלי הטיח בן זבאי את ראשו . . . לא היו** if the son of Zakkai had shot his head . . . , they would have taken no notice of him, Ber. 34 b; **אילולי לא נתנה תורה היינו** if the Torah had not been given, we would have learnt

¹ Cf. BH **ואם לא** Gen. xxiv. 39; 1 Sam. ii. 16; **ואם אין** Gen. xxx. 1; Exod. xxxii. 32.

492. Hypothetical sentences can also be introduced by other conjunctions. Thus, בִּזְמַן שֶׁאֵין לָהֶם עָלָיו מְזוֹנוֹת : בִּזְמַן שֶׁ- when (if) they have not to receive from him food, Ma'a. iii. 1 ; בִּזְמַן שֶׁהֵם בְּשִׂיחָיו בְּעַלֵּי הָדִין : בְּשֶׁ- when (if) they are moist, Šab. iv. 1 ; עוֹמְדִים לְפָנֶיךָ יֵהִיו when litigants stand before thee, let them be, Ab. i. 8 ; הֲרֵנִי נוֹזֵר בְּשִׂיחָיָה לִּי בֵּן lo, I am a Nazirite if I shall have a son, Naz. ii. 7 ; אִם בְּשִׂאמְרוֹ : אִם even when they said, ib. 1 ; יָכוֹל אֶפִּילוֹ תַּקְפָּה עָלָיו מִשְׁנָתוֹ : אֶפִּילוֹ even if his study was too hard for him, Ab. iii. 8 ; אֶפִּילוֹ צ"ט אוֹמְרִים even if 99 say to divide, Pea iv. 1.

493. A concessive clause can be introduced by the simple copula : נִשְׁבַּתִּי וְטַהֵרָה אֲנִי I was taken captive, nevertheless I am pure, Ket. ii. 6 ; רָאִיתָ מֵימַיךְ . . . וְהוּא מֵתַפְרִנְסִין hast ever seen . . . yet

¹ Against Tossaphot, *M^eg.* 21 a, Kohut i, p. 98 f., who make a distinction between אֱלֹהִים and אֱלֹהִי. Cf. also Lambert, *R^EJ.*, ix, p. 273 ff.; Jastrow, *ibid.*, xi, p. 151 f.; Ben Yehuda, *Thesaurus*, i, p. 250 f.

they maintain themselves, Qid. iv. 14; **בְּמֶה תִּהְיֶה הַסֵּלַע חֲסִירָה וְלֹא יִהְיֶה בָּהּ אוֹנָאָה** by how much may the *sela'* be deficient, and yet there may be no deceit in its use, BM iv. 5.

404. More commonly, concessive clauses are introduced by special conjunctions. These consist of combinations with **אֲף**: **אֲפִילוּ הַמֶּלֶךְ: אֲף עַל פִּי כֵן, אֲף עַל פִּי, אֲף בְּשֵׁי, (אֲף + אֵילוּ =) אֲפִילוּ** even though a king greets him, he must not answer him, Ber. v. 1; **אֲפִילוּ נוֹטֵל אֶת נַפְשִׁי** even though he takes thy life, ib. ix. 5; **אֲף בְּשִׁאמְרוּ** even when they said, Naz. ii. 1, 2; **אֲף עַל פִּי שֶׁאֵין מְבִיאִין מוֹנָמֵר** although perfumes are not brought in, Ber. vi. 6; **אֲף עַל פִּי שֶׁאֲמָרוּ** although they have said, Pea i. 2; so before a participle, but without **שֶׁ**: **סִילוֹנוֹת אֲף עַל פִּי כְּפּוֹפִין אֲף: שֶׁ** pipes, though bent, though receiving, Kel. ii. 3; **אֲף עַל פִּי כֵן חוֹזֵר וְקוֹרֵא אוֹתָם** nevertheless, he calls them again, Bik. iii. 1; **אֲף עַל פִּי כֵן יֵר בּוֹלֵן שָׁוֶה** nevertheless, they are all equal, Šeq. ii. 4; **אֲף עַל פִּי כֵן הָיִיתִי בּוֹכָה** nevertheless, I would have wept, Ber. 28 b.

12. Comparative Clauses.

405. As in BH, comparison is expressed by **כִּי**. From the nature of its substantival origin, **כִּי** alone can stand only before a noun as its *regens*, e.g. **הָבֵן כְּמִלּוֹא פִי פָרָה** straw like the mouthful of a cow, Šab. vii. 4; **דָּמּוֹ טָעוּן כִּיפּוּי כְּדָם חִיָּה** its blood requires covering like the blood of a beast, Bik. ii. 9; **שׂוֹאֵל כְּעֶנְיָן וּמִשִּׁיב** he asks according to the subject, and answers according to the law, Ab. v. 10. To introduce a clause, **כִּי** must combine with another word to form a conjunction. Thus, **כְּאִילוּ עֲשָׂאָה: כְּאִילוּ** as if he made it within the house, Suk. i. 2; **כְּאִילוּ הִיא מְרֻבַּעַת** as if it was straight, square, 'Er. i. 5; **כְּאִילוּ**, to introduce a new case similar to the preceding one; **כְּאִילוּ בּוֹ הַמּוֹשְׁבִיר בֵּית לַחֲבֵרוֹ** likewise, if one lets a house to his fellow, Šebi. ix. 7; **כְּאִילוּ בּוֹ רוֹצֵחַ שְׁגוּלָה** similarly, a murderer who went into exile, ib. x. 8; Hal. iii. 9.

496. A comparative clause is also introduced by כְּמוֹת שֶׁ- as he is accustomed, Ter. iv. 3 ; כְּמוֹת שֶׁהַחֲנוּנִי לֹקֵחַ וְלֹא כְּמוֹת שֶׁהוּא מוֹכֵר as the shop-keeper buys, and not as he sells, MŠ iv. 2. By וְכֵן חֲבִית נֶשֶׁל שֶׁמֶן שֶׁנִּשְׁפָּכָה; וְכֵן לִיָּצָא בָהֶם בְּשֶׁאֶר שְׁנֵי שָׁבִיעַ; Ter. xi. 7 ; and similarly in the other years of the Seven, Šebi. iv. 8, 9.

497. A more complete agreement is expressed when the two members of the comparison are both introduced by correlative conjunctions. The following correlatives are found :

כְּכֵן . . . כֵּן just like the thinning and trimming of the fifth, so of the sixth, Šebi. ii. 3 ; כְּעוֹנָתָן לְמַעֲשָׂוֹת כֵּן עוֹנָתָן לְשִׁבְעִית as their season for tithes, so their season for the seventh year, ib. iv. 9. These correlatives are used with nouns only.

כְּשֶׁם שֶׁאָמְרוּ לְהַחֲמִיר כֵּן אָמְרוּ לְהַקֵּל : כְּשֶׁם שֶׁ- . . . כֵּן as they said to make it heavy, so they said to make it light, Kil. ii. 2 ; כְּשֶׁם שֶׁחֹלְקִין כֵּן חֹלְקִין בְּתֵבָה just as they divide the produce, so do they divide the straw, BM ix. 1 ; כְּכֵן תִּבְנִינִי . . . כֵּן תָּבִיאנִי just as thou hast brought me forth . . . so shalt thou bring me in, Ber. 48 b. Sometimes כֵּן is omitted : כְּשֶׁם שֶׁדִּנְתָּנִי . . . הַמֶּקוֹם יִדִּין : כְּכֵן אֶתְּךָ as thou hast judged me . . . may the Almighty judge thee ; כְּשֶׁם שֶׁדִּנְתוּנִי . . . הַמֶּקוֹם יִדִּין אֶתְכֶם Šab. 127 b.

כְּשֶׁם שֶׁהוּא מִדֵּל בְּתוֹךְ שָׁלוֹ בֵּן הוּא מִדֵּל בְּשָׁל עֵנִיָּים : כְּשֶׁם שֶׁ- . . . כֵּן just as he thins out among his own, so he thins out of the poor, Pea vii. 5. After a long protasis, the comparison is resumed by means of the copula : וְכֵן . . . כְּשֶׁם שֶׁאָמְרוּ הַפּוֹנְקֵת בְּתוֹבָתָהּ לֹא תִפְרַע . . . וְכֵן just as they said (that) she who damages the bill of her marriage settlement shall not be paid . . . so orphans shall not be paid . . . , Šebu. vii. 7.

כְּכֵן יִתְּמוּן לֹא יִתְּמוּן : כְּכֵן יִתְּמוּן לֹא יִתְּמוּן just as one must not cause damage in a public thoroughfare, so must not one repair therein, Šebi. iii 10.

בְּעֵינָיו שֶׁהוּא מְבָרֵךְ בְּךָ עוֹנִין אַחֲרָיו : בְּעֵינָיו שֶׁ . . . בְּךָ according as he pronounces the benediction, so they respond after him, Ber. vii. 3.

498. The apodosis may come first for special emphasis, and then the protasis alone has the conjunction : חַיֵּב אָדָם לְבָרֵךְ עַל הָרָעָה : הָרָעָה one is bound to bless (God) for evil, as one blesses Him for good, Ber. ix. 5 ; נוֹהֵג בְּתַרוּמָה בְּדָרְךָ שֶׁהוּא נוֹהֵג ; נוֹהֵג בְּתַרוּמָה בְּדָרְךָ שֶׁהוּא נוֹהֵג one behaves towards *teruma*, just as one behaves towards common things, Ter. xi. 5 ; Šebi. iv. 1.

499. An argument to prove a similarity between two cases is introduced by the exclamatory מָה in the protasis, and אֵף in the apodosis : מָה הַטְּהוֹרָה עוֹלָה אֵף הַטְּמֵאָה תֵעָלֶה what! the pure rises, also the impure shall rise = just as . . . so . . . , Ter. v. 4 ; מָה הַנֶּדֶף הַטְּמֵאָה בְּמִשָּׁא אֵף עֲבוֹדָה זָרָה מְטַמְּאָה בְּמִשָּׁא what! the menstruous defiles by carrying, also the idol defiles by carrying, AZ iii. 6.

500. In an argument from the minor to the major (קַל וָחִמֶּר), the protasis is introduced by מָה אִם, the apodosis by דִּין הוּא : דִּין הוּא שֶׁאֵין לְיָהּ כְּהֵן גָּדוֹל מָה אִם . . . מְקוֹם שֶׁאֵין כְּהֵן הִדְיוֹט מְטַמֵּא . . . דִּין הוּא שֶׁלֹּא יִהְיֶה כְּהֵן גָּדוֹל מְטַמֵּא what! if . . . where a private priest may not defile himself . . . it is justice that the High Priest should not defile himself, Sifre Num. vi. 6. But more often the apodosis is put in a rhetorical question in the negative : מָה אִם שְׁחִיטָה . . . דּוֹחָה אֶת הַשַּׁבָּת אֵלָיו . . . לֹא יִרְחוּ : לֹא יִרְחוּ what! if slaughtering . . . overrides the Sabbath, these . . . , should they not override the Sabbath? Pes. vi. 2 ; especially with מָה אִם הַפֶּסַח . . . חַיֵּיב הַזִּבְחִים . . . אֵינוֹ דִּין שֶׁיִּהְיֶה חַיֵּיב : אֵינוֹ דִּין what! if the Passover sacrifice . . . he is liable, the sacrifices . . . , is it not justice that he should be liable? ib. 5 ; Ned. x. 6 ; Naz. vii. 4 ; So. vi. 3, &c. The apodosis may also take the phrase מָה אִם הָעוֹבֵר עֲבָרָה : עַל אַחַת בְּמָה וּבְמָה before the predicate : מָה אִם הָעוֹשֶׂה מִצְוָה אַחַת עַל אַחַת בְּמָה וּבְמָה שֶׁתִּתֵּן לוֹ נַפְשׁוֹ what! if one who commits one transgression . . . , one who performs one command, how much more so should his life be given to him?

Mak. iii. 15 ; וְמָה אִם הָדָם . . . גִּזְלֵי וְעֵרְוֹת . . . עַל אַחַת בִּפְמָה וּבְפִמָּה שֵׁנוּזָה ; what! if blood . . . robbery and incest . . . , how much more so should he secure merit . . . , ib.; ib. i. 7 ; Ab. vi. 3, &c.; or, finally in later diction, by the rhetorical negative question, placed at the end as a predicate, לֹא כָּל שֵׁבֶן is not everything (in its favour) that it should be so? בְּשִׁהוּא שִׁבְעַת מְבָרָךְ בְּשִׁהוּא רָעֵב לֹא : כָּל שֵׁבֶן if he blesses when he is full, when he is hungry all the more so, Ber. 48 b, &c.¹

13. Disjunctive Clauses.

501. A clause giving an alternative case is co-ordinated with the preceding clause with or without the copula, but only in the case of very short clauses : נִקְלַף נִסְדָּק נִיבַב וְחָסַר כָּל שִׁהוּא if it was peeled, or cracked, or perforated, or had something missing, Suk. iii. 6, 1, 2 ; גִּזְלִיתִי וְהִלֵּיתִי וְהִפְקַדְתָּ אֵצְלִי I robbed thee, or thou didst lend me, or thou didst deposit with me, BQ x. 7 ; so with adjectives : בָּשָׂר צְלוּי שָׂלֹק וּמִבִּישָׁל roast, or seethed, or cooked meat, Pes. x. 4. But a longer clause is introduced by אוּ : אוּ שְׁנַיִם רוֹכְבִּין . . . אוּ שְׁהִיָּה אַחֵד רוֹכֵב וְאַחֵד מְנַהִיג two were riding . . . , or one was riding and one leading, BM i. 2.

502. Two or more alternative cases may be introduced by correlative conjunctions, as follows :

אוּ . . . אוּ either . . . or : אוּ חוֹלְצָת אוּ מְתִיבָמָת she either takes *halisa*, or she is married to her deceased husband's brother, Yeb. iii. 3 ; iv. 5, 6 ; אוּ אֵינוּ מְעָרֵב . . . אוּ מְעָרֵב he either makes an '*erub*' . . . or he does not make an '*erub*', Er. iii. 9 ; אוּ לָחִי אוּ קוֹרָה either a board or a beam, ib. i. 2.

וְלֹא . . . וְלֹא neither . . . nor ; וְלֹא שׂוֹרְפִין וְלֹא אוֹכְלִין they neither eat, nor burn, Pes. i. 5 ; Yeb. xi. 2 ; cf. § 339 (ii).

אִם . . . אִם whether . . . or ; cf. § 466. אִם הַיּוֹם אִם לְמָחָר whether to-day or to-morrow, 'Er. iii. 9.

¹ Cf. Bacher, *Älteste Terminologie*, p. 172 f.

אָהר שֶׁהֵן כֶּסֶף וְאָהר שֶׁהֵן : whether . . . or : . . . וְאָהר שֶׁ- whether they are silver or whether they are fruit, MS v. 7. This is especially common before nominal forms without שֶׁ- : אָהר שֶׁזָּגַג וְאָהר מְזִיד whether in error or intentionally, Ab. iv. 4 ; אָהר הָאוֹכֵל וְאָהר הַשּׂוֹתֶה וְאָהר הַפֶּה anoints, Ter. vi. 1. Sometimes אָהר is expressed before the first case only : אָהר הַחוֹפֵר בּוֹר שִׁיחַ וּמַעְרָה whether one digs a pit, or a ditch, or a cave, BQ v. 5.

בֵּין שְׁנֵי בּוֹ . . . בֵּין שְׁאִין בּוֹ : whether it has in it . . . or it has not in it . . . 'Or. ii. 6, 7 ; בֵּין שֶׁנִּרְאָה בְּעֵלִיל וּבֵין שֶׁלֹּא whether it was seen clearly, or not, RH i. 5 ; with nominal forms without שֶׁ-, except before a negative (cf. § 425) : בֵּין עוֹשִׂין בֵּין מֵתוּכּוֹ בֵּין מֵעַל גִּבּוֹ whether within, or above, Šab. iii. 2 ; בֵּין שֶׁאִין עוֹשִׂין whether they produce, or not, Šebi. i. 4.

פְּעָמִים שֶׁהוּא : sometimes . . . sometimes : פְּעָמִים שֶׁ- . . . וּפְעָמִים שֶׁ- sometimes thou mayest hide thyself, and sometimes not, BM 30 a. Before nominal forms without שֶׁ- : פְּעָמִים מְכוּרִים : sometimes they are sold, sometimes not, BB v. 2. Also : פְּעָמִים שֶׁ- . . . אוּ : sometimes he comes with the crowing of the cock, sometimes near it, Tam. i. 2.

14. Adversative, Exceptive, and Restrictive Clauses.

503. A clause expressing the antithesis to a preceding clause can be introduced by the simple copula : מֵת וְהוּא שֶׁנִּשְׁבֵּר (he said) it had died, but really it was broken, Šebu. viii. 2 f., 6 ff. ; הָעוֹף עוֹלָה עִם הַבִּינָה . . . וְאִינוֹ נֹאכָל but is not eaten, 'Ed. v. 2 ; הַמּוֹתְרִין . . . וְהַשּׂוֹחֵט . . . חַיִּיב . . . מוֹתְרִין they are permitted . . . , but he who slays . . . is liable, Pes. vi. 5.

More frequently, an antithesis is introduced by אָבֵל or אֵלָא.

אָבֵל introduces a co-ordinated sentence which contains a new

case in opposition to the foregoing: **לֹא יִתִּיר אֶת סוּכּוֹתוֹ אֲבָל מוֹרִיר** he must not undo his tabernacle, but he may take down the things, Suk. iv. 8; **אֵין נוֹתֵנִין לְתַלוּיָהּ בְּשַׁבָּת אֲבָל נוֹתֵנִין** one may not put (wine) into a hanging (strainer) on the Sabbath, but one may put . . . on the Festival, Šab. xx. 1; **יֹדַע אֲנִי שֵׁישׁ נְזִירֹת אֲבָל אֲנִי יֹדַע שֶׁהַנְּזִיר אָסוּר בַּיּוֹם** I know that there is the state of the Nazirite, but I do not know that the Nazirite is forbidden the use of wine, Naz. ii. 4; MŠ iii. 1; Ber. iii. 5; 'Er. ii. 3, &c.

504. **אֲלָא** is but rarely used like **אֲבָל** to introduce an adversative sentence: . . . **כָּל כֹּהֵן שֶׁאֵינוֹ שׂוֹקֵל חוּטָא אֲלָא שֶׁהַכֹּהֲנִים דָּרְשׁוּ** any priest that does not pay the shekel is a sinner; however, the priests expound . . . , Šeq. i. 4; **הִיא כְּדַבְּרֵיךְ אֲלָא שֶׁאָמְרוּ חֲכָמִים** it would be as thou sayest, but the sages have said, Bek. iii. 1; with a mild adversative (like !): **עַל הַחֲדָשִׁים אֲנִי בּוֹשִׁין אֲלָא שֶׁאַתֶּם מְגַלְגִּין עָלֵינוּ אֵת** : (like !): **הַיְשָׁנִים** we are ashamed of the new ones, and you roll upon us also the old ones, Ket. viii. 1; BB ix. 10.

505. More often **אֲלָא** introduces an exceptive or restrictive clause: **כָּל הַזִּבְחִים . . . בְּשֵׁרִים אֲלָא שֶׁלֹּא עָלוּ לִבְעָלִים לְשֵׁם חֻבָּה** all sacrifices . . . are proper, except that they do not rise for the owner to the category of a duty (discharged, &c.), Zeb. i. 1; Men. i. 1; **הַמּוֹרָם מֵהֶם בְּיוֹצֵא בָהֶם אֲלָא שֶׁהַמּוֹרָם נֶאֱכָל** what is lifted from them (for the priests) is like them, except that what is lifted may be eaten, Zeb. v. 6, 7; **הָרִי אֵת מוֹתֶרֶת לְכָל אָדָם אֲלָא לְאִישׁ פְּלוּנִי** lo, thou art free to marry any man, except so and so, Git. ix. 1, 2.

506. In this exceptive or restrictive sense, **אֲלָא** is very widely used after a negative (as in Aram. and **אִם כִּי** in BH, Ges.-K., § 163 a, f.).¹ The negative with **אֲלָא** may usually be rendered in English by an affirmative with 'only': **לֹא הָיוּ אֲלָא שְׁנַיִם** they had

¹ This use of **אֲלָא** after a negative is already found in BH with **אִם לֹא**, the equivalent of **אֲלָא** (§ 302), Gen. xxiv. 37-8; Ps. cxxxi. 1-2. Cf. also the French *ne . . . que*.

been only two, Yo. iii. 10; **לֹא נִעְנְעוּ אֵלָא בָּר** they only shook at . . . , Suk. iii. 9; **אֵלָא בְּשִׁבוּעָה** she, too, shall be paid only by oath, Ket. x. 5; **אֵין נוֹשְׁקִין אֵלָא . . . אֵין** . . . **אֵלָא** . . . **אֵין** they only cut . . . ; they only kiss . . . ; they only consult . . . , Ber. 8 b (§ 329).

507. **אֵלָא** is sometimes strengthened by **בְּלִבְדָּ** placed at the end of the sentence: **אֵין מְדַלִּיקִין אֵלָא בְּשֶׁמֶן וְיַת בְּלִבְדָּ** one may light only with olive oil alone, Šab. ii. 2; **לֹא הָיוּ תוֹקְעִין אֵלָא בְּבֵית דִּין בְּלִבְדָּ** they only blew (the *shofar*) at the *Beth Din* alone, RH iv. 2.

508. **אֵלָא** introduces a complete antithesis in the idiomatic expression **לֹא בִי אֵלָא בְּסֵלַע לָקַח** not so, but: he struck against a stone, BQ iii. 11; Šeq. i. 4; Yeb. viii. 3, 4; Šebu. vi. 7; Men. iv. 3. Cf. § 298.

So with **כְּלוּם** which is equivalent to a negative: **כְּלוּם אָמַרְתָּ אֵלָא** thou only saidst it for my honour, Ned. viii. 7; **כְּלוּם נָתַתִּי לָךְ גְּדוּלָה אֵלָא בְּשִׁבְלֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל** I have only given thee greatness for the sake of Israel, Ber. 32 a.

509. Such a clause following **אֵלָא** may have a conditional force: **אֵין שׁוֹרִין אֵלָא כִּדִּי שֵׁישׁוּרֵי** one may not soak . . . unless they can be soaked . . . , Šab. i. 5–8, 10. If such a condition is introduced by **אִם**, the conditional particle is usually strengthened by **בִּין**: **אִינוּ מִפְּסִיק אֵלָא אִם בִּין תִּרְשֵׁ** it does not separate, unless he ploughed it, Pea ii. 1; **אֵין נֹעְלִים בָּהֶם אֵלָא אִם בִּין גְּבוּהִים מִן הָאָרֶץ** one must not shut with them, unless they are high above the ground, 'Er. x. 8; **לֹא יִטּוֹל אֵלָא אִם בִּין נִעְנַע מִבְּעוֹר יוֹם** he must not take unless he shook it while it was still day, Be. i. 3, 5; ii. 5; iii. 2.

510. The same construction is found with clauses introduced by **עַד** 'after'—viz. until the condition named has been fulfilled. The verb used is the imperfect (§ 321): **אֵין מְעִידִין אֵלָא עַד שֶׁתָּצֵא** no evidence must be given, except after his soul is gone forth, Yeb. xvi. 3. But, usually, **אֵלָא** is omitted in such a construction:

לְבָרִית **עַד** שֶׁיִּצְטָרֵךְ he will not die, until after he has become dependent on his fellow creatures = **אֶלָּא עַד**, Pea vii. 8; **עַד** שֶׁיִּפְרֶנֶס אֲחֵרִים . . . until after he has fed others = **אֶלָּא עַד** ib.; שֶׁיִּכְתֹּב **עַד** חֵיב he is not liable until after he has written = **אֶלָּא עַד**, Mak. ii. 7. Sometimes the negative also is omitted: **וְחֻכָּמִים** אֲזַמְרִים **עַד** שֶׁיִּרְשֹׁם . . . (No, except) if he mark, Be. iv. 7; **עַד** שֶׁתִּפְרָס (not, except) if it has moved convulsively, Hul. ii. 6.

511. The negative is also omitted before **אֶלָּא** in answer to a question: **אֶלָּא בְּשַׁעָה שְׁדִּירָה** . . . לָמָּה נֶאֱמַר . . . why is it said . . .? (not) except when it is the custom . . . (= **לֹא נֶאֱמַר אֶלָּא**), Ber. i. 3; **וּמִי שׁוֹמֵעַ לוֹ שִׁידוֹר בְּנוֹיִר אֶלָּא מְבִיא מָה בֵּין שְׂדֵה** . . . but who will listen to him to vow as a Nazirite? (no), but he brings . . ., Naz. viii. 1; **אֲחֻזָּה לְשְׂדֵה מְקֻנָּה אֶלָּא שְׁבִשְׂדֵה אֲחֻזָּה** what is the difference between an inherited field and a purchased field? (none) except that in a purchased field . . . (= **אֶלָּא . . . בֵּין**), 'Ar. iii. 2; **מָה בֵּין נִדְרִים** . . . what is the difference between vows and free-will offerings? (none) except that, Qin. i. 1. Cf. **אִין בֵּין** **שַׁבָּת לְיוֹם טוֹב אֶלָּא אוֹכֵל נֶפֶשׁ בַּלֶּבֶד** there is no difference between the Sabbath and the Festival except in the matter of food alone, Meg. i. 5-11.

Cf. the omission of the negative before **כִּי אִם** in BH, 1 Sam. xxvi. 10, &c., *BDB.*, p. 475 a.

512. Exceptive clauses are also introduced by **וּבִלְבָד** **שֶׁ**: **וּבִלְבָד שֶׁ** **שִׁידוֹעֵנו** but only if he will make it known to him, Dam. iii. 3; **וּבִלְבָד שֶׁיִּהְיֶה מִמֶּשׁ בְּדִבְרָיו** but only when there will be something real in his words, San. vi. 1; **וּבִלְבָד שֶׁיִּתֵּן בְּגִנֹּךְ הַיָּסוֹד** but only if he will put it against the base, Zeb. v. 8.

By **חוּץ מִזֶּה** outside of: **חוּץ מִזֶּה** **מִשְׁנֵטְמָאָה** except that which was defiled, MŠ. iii. 9; or without **שֶׁ** before nominal forms: **חוּץ מִזֶּה** **מִזֶּה** except wine, bread, Ber. vi. 1; **חוּץ מִזֶּה** **מִזֶּה** except one of them, Zeb. viii. 8. Sometimes strengthened by

reached . . . Ter. i. 3 ; . . . מִשְׁהַנְרִיל . . . הַנְרִיל עַד שֶׁלֹּא before he had cast lots . . . after he had cast lots . . . , Yo. vi. 1 ; עַד שֶׁלֹּא מִשְׁנִנְחָה . . . נִנְחָה before he had gored her . . . after he had gored her, BQ v. 1.

עַד בְּרִי שֵׁיתֶאֱכַל הַמֶּזֶן until : עַד בְּרִי שֵׁיתֶאֱכַל until the food will be digested, Ber. viii. 7 ; עַד בְּרִי שֶׁיָּדְעוּ בּוֹ שֶׁכֵּנָיו until his neighbours will know of it, BM ii. 6. (But L has : עַד שִׁישְׁמְעוּ שְׂכִינָיו.)

בְּשַׁעָה when (a point of time) : בְּשַׁעָה when kings pass, 'AZ iv. 6 ; כָּל שַׁעָה when (duration of time) : כָּל שַׁעָה when, as long as, he is allowed to eat, Pes. ii. 1.

מִשַּׁעָה מִשַּׁעָה שֶׁהַכֹּהֲנִים נִכְנְסִין from the time when the priests enter, Ber. i. 1 ; מִשַּׁעָה שֶׁפָּסְקָה 'Or. i. 5.

בְּזֶמַן שֶׁהָיָה בְּרָמָה when, usually with a hypothetical force : בְּזֶמַן שֶׁהָיָה בְּרָמָה when he bought land, but when he did not buy land, Ma'a. v. 5 ; cf. § 492.

כָּל זְמַן שֶׁבָּנִי אָדָם חוֹרְשִׁין when, while (duration of time) : כָּל זְמַן שֶׁבָּנִי אָדָם חוֹרְשִׁין while men plough, Šebi. ii. 1 ; כָּל זְמַן שֶׁבָּבְרוּ when they have ripened, ib. ix. 4.

אִמְתִּי שֶׁתִּרְצֶה whenever ; אִמְתִּי שֶׁתִּרְצֶה whenever thou wishest, BM v. 3 ; אִמְתִּי שֶׁיִּבְנֶה בֵּית הַמִּקְדָּשׁ whenever the Temple will be re-built, MŠ v. 2.

כִּי־נִגַּשׁ as soon as : כִּי־נִגַּשׁ as soon as the goat reached, Yo. vi. 8 ; כִּי־נִגַּשׁ as soon as she puts in the water, Hal. iii. 1.

קֹדֶם שֶׁ before : קֹדֶם שֶׁתִּתְּאָרֵם before she was betrothed, So. ii. 6.

אַחֵר שֶׁ after : אַחֵר שֶׁכָּתַבָּהּ לָהּ after he had written it for her, 'Ed. iv. 7 ; or with : אַחֵר שֶׁהֵדִירוּ after they had agreed, Ter. v. 4.

עַתָּה שֶׁ when (rare) : עַתָּה שֶׁבָּאוּ אֲבוֹתֵינוּ when our fathers came, 'Or. i. 2.

מִיָּד מִיָּד הָיָה עוֹמֵד וְעוֹסֵק בְּתוֹרָה immediately he

would arise and study the Torah; מִיד יוֹעֲצִים בְּאַחִיתוֹפֶל immediately they would consult Ahitophel, Ber. 3 b; מִיד כִּבְתָּה immediately it is extinguished, Šab. 151 b.

16. Final Clauses.

514. The purpose or aim of an action may be expressed by the infinitive with לִּ: נִכְנְסִין לֶאֱכֹל they enter to eat, Ber. i. 1; I inclined to read, ib. 3. In the negative: לֹא לְהַבְעִית not to frighten, Yo. v. 2; לֹא לְבִישׁ not to shame, Ta'a. iv. 8. After verbs of preventing, &c., the inf. takes מִן: לֹא נִמְנְעוּ מִן מְלַהֲרֵם they refrained not from burning . . . from kindling, Pes. i. 6; cf. § 346. The infin. can also be introduced by בְּדִי לְהַרְחִיק . . . אָמְרוּ they said . . . in order to remove, Ber. i. 1 (L לְהַרְחִיק). By עַל מְנָת לְתַפּוֹר if one tears in order to sew; עַל מְנָת לְתַקֵּן if one damages, in order to repair, Šab. xiii. 2, 3.

515. Clauses expressing purpose are introduced by שֶׁ, לֹא שֶׁ: לֹא שֶׁיִּעֲלֶה אֶלָּא שֶׁלֹּא יוֹסִיף not that it may rise, but that it may not increase, Šab. xxiii. 5; שֶׁלֹּא יִהְיֶה מִיָּמָיו נִפְסָלוֹן that its water may not be disqualified, Yo. iii. 10.

בְּדִי שֶׁיֵּהוּ רֹאִין וְהָ אֵת וְהָ: בְּדִי שֶׁלֹּא, בְּדִי שֶׁ- that they may see one another, San. iv. 3; לֹא שֶׁלֹּא לְשַׂבַּח אֶת הַתִּינוּקוֹת not to make the children forget, 'Er. vii. 9.

בְּשָׁבִיל שֶׁיִּחַמוּ; בְּשָׁבִיל שֶׁיִּצְנוּ: בְּשָׁבִיל שֶׁלֹּא, בְּשָׁבִיל שֶׁ- in order that they may be cold, hot, Šab. xxii. 4; בְּשָׁבִיל שֶׁיִּמָּתִין that he may last, ib. xxiii. 5; בְּשָׁבִיל שֶׁלֹּא תֵצֵא that it should not go out, ib. xv. 2; בְּשָׁבִיל שֶׁלֹּא יִמְזְקוּ that they may not melt, Ta'a. iii. 8.

עַל מְנָת שֶׁיִּלְקוּט בְּנוֹ: עַל מְנָת שֶׁ- on condition that his son may gather, Pea v. 6.

17. Consecutive Clauses.

516. Clauses expressing the consequence of an action may be introduced by the simple copula, especially in questions: בְּמָה

חַיִּיב how much should he build, so as to be liable? Šab. xxii. 1; וְיֵהְיוּ אֲסוּרִים how long should they abide, so as to become prohibited? Ter. viii. 4; Šebi. iv. 10; Oh. xii. 8; וְאֶקְיַמְנָה מָתַי יָבוֹא לְיָדִי when will it come to my hand that I may fulfil it? Ber. 61 b; וְיִהְיֶה סוֹתֶם אֶת הַפֶּתַח בְּפָנָיו that he may not be a glutton, and so shut the door in his own face, BM vii. 5.

More often, consecutive clauses are introduced by בְּדִי שֵׁי, בְּדִי שֵׁלָא, בְּדִי שֵׁי־נָשׁ : בְּדִי שֵׁיטוֹל מִן הַמוֹקֵף נֹתֵן he gives . . . so that he may take from the nearest, Hal. ii. 8; קוֹצֵץ בְּדִי שֵׁי־הָא גָּמַל עוֹבֵר וְרוֹכְבוֹ he cuts off, so that a camel may pass with its rider, BB ii. 14; וְתַחֲלִקוּ בְּדִי . . . יִתְחַלְקוּ they shall be divided, so that there be not in one place as much as an egg, Ter. v. 1.

517. Consecutive sentences, as distinguished from consecutive clauses, are introduced by לְפִיכָךְ אִם אֵירַע בָּהֶן פֶּסוּל : לְפִיכָךְ therefore, if a disqualification occurred in them, Pes. viii. 6; לְפִיכָךְ אָנוּ חַיִּיבִין therefore, we are bound to, ib. x. 4; לְפִיכָךְ נִבְרָא אָדָם therefore, was man created, San. iv. 5.

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xxviii.	3	.	.	.	291
xxx.	3	.	.	.	472
	15	.	.	.	301
xxxi.	48	.	.	.	385
xxxii.	33	.	.	.	390

DEUTERONOMY.

iii.	14	.	.	.	290
vi.	4	.	.	.	3

DEUTERONOMY.

ix.	7	.	.	.	342
	22	.	.	.	342
	24	.	.	.	342
xi.	5	.	.	.	60
xiii.	1	.	.	.	472
xx.	3-4	.	.	.	3
xxi.	3	.	.	.	77
	8	.	.	.	133 n.
xxii.	25	.	.	.	376
	27	.	.	.	376
xxiii.	3	.	.	.	275
	3	.	.	.	472
	16	.	.	.	228
xxiv.	10	.	.	.	133
	19	.	.	.	472
xxv.	5	.	.	.	74 n.
	9	.	.	.	3
	7	.	.	.	336 n.
	10	.	.	.	336 n.
xxvi.	3-10	.	.	.	3
xxvii.	15-26	.	.	.	3
xxviii.	29	.	.	.	343
	61	.	.	.	340
xxxii.	35	.	.	.	349

JOSHUA.

vii.	7	.	.	.	302 n.
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JUDGES.

i.	7	.	.	.	343
v.	16	.	.	.	228
vi.	20	.	.	.	74
viii.	1	.	.	.	199
xiii.	17	.	.	.	418
xvi.	10	.	.	.	196
xxi.	21	.	.	.	153 n.

I SAMUEL.

ii.	26	.	.	.	489 n.
iii.	2	.	.	.	153 n.
viii.	19	.	.	.	298 n.
ix.	18	.	.	.	82
xiii.	21	.	.	.	228
xiv.	44	.	.	.	456
xv.	23	.	.	.	251
xvii.	4	.	.	.	295
xix.	10	.	.	.	119 n.
xx.	16	.	.	.	453 n.

I SAMUEL.

	40	.	.	.	409
xxi.	14	.	.	.	390
xxii.	20	.	.	.	386
xxv.	22	.	.	.	453 n.
	23	.	.	.	301
xxvi.	10	.	.	.	511

2 SAMUEL.

iii.	2	.	.	.	286
	3	.	.	.	286
	7	.	.	.	343
	34	.	.	.	340
vi.	9	.	.	.	43 n.
vii.	29	.	.	.	302 n.
viii.	15	.	.	.	343
xiv.	31	.	.	.	409
xv.	2	.	.	.	80
xix.	10	.	.	.	177
xx.	11	.	.	.	436

I KINGS.

i.	6	.	.	.	297
	33	.	.	.	409
iv.	2	.	.	.	409
vi.	17	.	.	.	269
	17	.	.	.	393
	19	.	.	.	169
	29	.	.	.	293
ix.	17	.	.	.	377 n.
xvii.	14	.	.	.	169
xix.	8	.	.	.	228
	21	.	.	.	390
xx.	30	.	.	.	393
xxi.	13	.	.	.	390
xxii.	25	.	.	.	393

2 KINGS.

ii.	20	.	.	.	271 n.
iii.	8	.	.	.	82
iv.	25	.	.	.	74 n.
v.	19	.	.	.	72
ix.	13	.	.	.	431 n.
xvi.	15	.	.	.	390
xvii.	32	.	.	.	343
	33	.	.	.	343
xxi.	13	.	.	.	271 n.

ISAIAH.

i.	22	.	.	.	43 n.
iii.	9	.	.	.	252
19	.	.	.	.	54 n.
vii.	25	.	.	.	77
viii.	7	.	.	.	41
xiv.	12	.	.	.	363 n.
23	.	.	.	.	251
xvi.	4	.	.	.	212
10	.	.	.	.	438
xxv.	28	.	.	.	252
xxvi.	19	.	.	.	462
xxviii.	4	.	.	.	438
24	.	.	.	.	438
xxx.	20	.	.	.	343
xxxiii.	17	.	.	.	153 n.
lxi.	10	.	.	.	344 n.

JEREMIAH.

i.	10	.	.	.	170
v.	2	.	.	.	80
vi.	29	.	.	.	235
xviii.	23	.	.	.	343
ix.	14	.	.	.	390
xx.	15	.	.	.	344
xxvi.	18	.	.	.	343
20	.	.	.	.	343
xxxviii.	11	.	.	.	288
12	.	.	.	.	288
xlvi.	20	.	.	.	245
lii.	20	.	.	.	390

EZEKIEL.

iv.	14	.	.	.	340
vii.	4	.	.	.	235
viii.	5	.	.	.	228
x.	2	.	.	.	390
xvi.	7	.	.	.	393
xxiii.	48	.	.	.	133 n.
xxxiv.	2	.	.	.	390
xxxv.	10	.	.	.	417
xl.	40	.	.	.	385
45	.	.	.	.	72
xlii.	14	.	.	.	390
xliv.	2	.	.	.	343
xlvi.	1	.	.	.	343
22	393

JOEL.

ii.	17	.	.	.	301
-----	----	---	---	---	-----

JONAH.

i.	8	.	.	.	80
----	---	---	---	---	----

MICAH.

vi.	8	.	.	.	252
16	140

HABAKKUK.

i.	4	.	.	.	340
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ZACHARIAH.

xiii.	1	.	.	.	343
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PSALMS.

xii.	7	.	.	.	299 n.
xvii.	2	.	.	.	153 n.
xix.	3	.	.	.	228
xxxii.	1	.	.	.	199
xxxv.	14	.	.	.	409
lxiii.	12	.	.	.	390
cvi.	11	.	.	.	156
cxix.	61	.	.	.	180
cxx.	1	.	.	.	409
cxxx.	1-2	.	.	.	506 n.
cxxxii.	11	.	.	.	409
12	.	.	.	.	409
12	.	.	.	.	72
cxxxvii.	9	.	.	.	235

PROVERBS.

vi.	5	.	.	.	296
xiii.	4	.	.	.	390
11	.	.	.	.	296
xv.	32	.	.	.	374
xxiii.	16	.	.	.	153 n.
xxviii.	23	.	.	.	269
xxxi.	30	.	.	.	140

JOB.

iii.	8	.	.	.	349
xii.	3	.	.	.	340
xv.	7	.	.	.	61
xxi.	23	.	.	.	431
xxiv.	24	.	.	.	197 n.
xxv.	2	.	.	.	251
xxix.	3	.	.	.	390
xxxix.	27	.	.	.	462

CANTICLES.

ii.	7	.	.	.	153 n.
	7	.	.	.	513
	17	.	.	.	513
iii.	5	.	.	.	153 n.
	7	.	.	.	385
	7	.	.	.	390
	11	.	.	.	153 n.
iv.	11	.	.	.	153 n.
v.	8	.	.	.	153 n.
vi.	1	.	.	.	392
	9	.	.	.	153 n.
	9	.	.	.	405
viii.	4	.	.	.	153 n.

RUTH.

ii.	21	.	.	.	409
-----	----	---	---	---	-----

LAMENTATIONS.

i.	10	.	.	.	409
iii.	63	.	.	.	228

QOHELET.

i.	9	.	.	.	436
ii.	3	.	.	.	82
	22	.	.	.	212
iii.	11	.	.	.	78 n.
	15	.	.	.	436
	22	.	.	.	436
iv.	10	.	.	.	304
viii.	10	.	.	.	140
xx.	1, 2, 6	.	.	.	513

ESTHER.

i.	22	.	.	.	343
ii.	7	.	.	.	343
	15	.	.	.	343
	18	.	.	.	252
	23	.	.	.	156
iii.	14	.	.	.	349
iv.	14	.	.	.	252
viii.	13	.	.	.	343
ix.	21	.	.	.	343

DANIEL.

i.	10	.	.	.	180
	16	.	.	.	268
ii.	9	.	.	.	134
	15	.	.	.	296

DANIEL.

	19	.	.	.	379
	49	.	.	.	379
	31	.	.	.	342
	34	.	.	.	342
iii.	1	.	.	.	379
	5	.	.	.	379
	7	.	.	.	379
	12	.	.	.	379
iv.	2	.	.	.	379
	6	.	.	.	379
v.	5	.	.	.	379
	7	.	.	.	386 n.
vi.	25	.	.	.	513
viii.	5	.	.	.	343
	7	.	.	.	343
	13	.	.	.	394
x.	2	.	.	.	343
	7	.	.	.	43 n.
xi.	45	.	.	.	48

EZRA.

i.	11	.	.	.	386 n.
ii.	62	.	.	.	390
iii.	5	.	.	.	137
	12	.	.	.	390
iv.	12	.	.	.	342
	22	.	.	.	342
iv.	24	.	.	.	24
v.	2	.	.	.	24
	16	.	.	.	24
	13	.	.	.	379
	14	.	.	.	379
vi.	5	.	.	.	379
	14	.	.	.	379
	12	.	.	.	24
	18	.	.	.	24
	23	.	.	.	24
ix.	1	.	.	.	390
x.	16	.	.	.	156

NEHEMIAH.

i.	2	.	.	.	343
ii.	13	.	.	.	343
	15	.	.	.	343
iii.	2	.	.	.	343
iv.	11	.	.	.	394
v.	18	.	.	.	343
vi.	4	.	.	.	343
	6	.	.	.	212

NEHEMIAH.

vi.	19	.	.	.	343
ix.	2	.	.	.	156
xiii.	5	.	.	.	343
	12	.	.	.	343

1 CHRONICLES.

v.	26	.	.	.	390
xiii.	12	.	.	.	43 n.
xxiii.	6	.	.	.	390
xxix.	17	.	.	.	137

2 CHRONICLES.

viii.	5	.	.	.	377 n.
xxv.	5	.	.	.	390
	10	.	.	.	390
xxviii.	23	.	.	.	82
xxx.	7	.	.	.	228
	10	.	.	.	343
xxxv.	13	.	.	.	271 n.

SIRACH.

v.	25	.	.	.	149
xi.	3	.	.	.	273 n.
	21	.	.	.	180
xiv.	14	.	.	.	241
xvi.	25	.	.	.	252
xxx.	2	.	.	.	181
	12	.	.	.	357
	19	.	.	.	120 n.
xxxii.	1	.	.	.	241
	3	.	.	.	252
xxxv.	10	.	.	.	252
xxxviii.	16	.	.	.	228
	25	.	.	.	228
	26	.	.	.	228
	17	.	.	.	298 n.
xl.	2	.	.	.	194 n.
	29	.	.	.	241
xli.	17	.	.	.	252
	28	.	.	.	241
xliv.	20	.	.	.	241
li.	24	.	.	.	72

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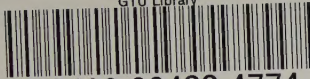
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